

A N
Examination of the Principles,
AND AN
INQUIRY into the CONDUCT
OF THE

T W O B * * * * R S ;

The D^y of Newcastle and Mr Pelham
In Regard to

**The Establishment of their Power, and their Pro-
secution of the War, 'till the Signing of the
Preliminaries.**

In a LETTER to a Member of Parliament.

The SECOND EDITION, reviewed and corrected.

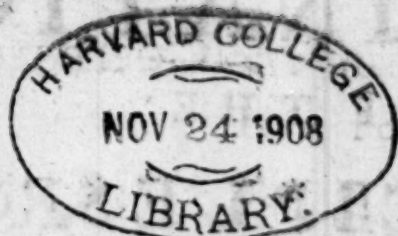
* Nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo, et sensus stupore, suavitatem cibi non
sentiant: sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi, veræ laudis gustatum non habent
—sed si vos laus allidere ad recte faciendum non potest, nec metus quideh
a sædissimis factis potest avocare: Judicia non metuitis? Si propter inno-
centiam, laudo: si propter vim, non intelligitis, ei qui isto modo judicia non
timeat, quid timendum sit? Quod si non metuitis viros fortes, egregiosque
cives: vestri, vos mihi credite, diutius non ferent, nisi vero majoribus bene-
ficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est perditus—At
vos estis ulla re cum eo comparandi? Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria,
literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia. Multos annos regnare meditatus, magno
labore quod cogitarat effecerat, muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, multitudi-
nem imperitam delenierat; suos præmiis, adversarios clementiæ specie divinx-
erat—quid multa; attulerat jam liberæ civitati, partim metu, partim patientia,
consuetudinem serviendi. Cum illo ego vos dominandi cupiditate conferre
possum, cæteris vero rebus nullo modo estis comparandi—sed ex plurimis
malis quæ ab illo Reipublicæ sunt iniusta, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit
populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus
caveret.

CIC. ORAT. PHILIP. 2da.

L O N D O N :

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EXAMINATION

OF THE

PRINCIPLES, &c.

S I R,

THE same Motives which determined you to retire into the Country, and to give no farther Attention to publick Business for the four last Years, produced, as you well know, the like desponding Sentiments in me. Wearied as I was with an Opposition of Twenty Years, disappointed by the Impotence of those upon whose Prudence we relied, to obtain some Advantage for the Nation, from the Success of that Opposition, betrayed by the new Leaders, under whom we listed the second Time, and duped by the affected Candor and Moderation of the *Two Men*, who have since improved every Weakness, and all the Wickedness of this Age, to the Establishment of their own absolute and unconstitutional Power, I most earnestly desired to concur in the same Resolution, and to withdraw from that infected Abode, where the Contagion was become too rife and too malignant, either to be cured or escaped. But the Situation of my Affairs could not permit me to retreat: I was still confined to this Capital, where I have lived in a daily Observation of some new Apostasy in private Men, some new Imposition upon the Publick, and some new Insult upon the ****.

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Yet, anxious and uneasy to me as this State has been, I have no Reason to repine.—I have thence had Opportunities, which I could never otherways have had, to discover my own Errors, and the Errors of the Nation, in regard both to Measures and to Men; and to be thoroughly convinced, that we have fatally imputed the Original of all our present Misfortunes to a false Cause; ascribing that to a Want of Integrity, which proceeded only from a Want of Power in our first Leaders; not arising from their Folly, or their Fault, but created by yourself, by me, by the whole Nation, blinded by Passion and Impatience, inflamed and infatuated by the infamous Misrepresentations, and treacherous Professions of a few false and interested Men, to whom, combining for our own Destruction, we resigned our Understandings at that Time.

I have frequently had Occasion to review the Folly of this Conduct, and to reflect on the strange Circumstances of that Event.—How an Administration of our own chusing, who, in the short Space of three Weeks, while we remained united to support them, had not only routed the obnoxious Minister of that Time, but changed the pacifick Measures, and induced both the Parliament and his M——y to espouse the national Plan; who had already put the Treasury, the Army and the Fleet, in a Word, the whole Force and Power of his Government, into the Hands of Men determined to pursue that Plan;—How these Men, who till that Hour had been the Favourites of the whole People, were deserted, in a Manner, by the whole People, by that Desertion were rendered incapable of doing any Thing farther for the People, and then finally delivered up, on account of that Incapacity so created, to the groundless Rage and unjust Aversion of the People.

I have seen that Aversion managed with such Villany and Art, as to become a firm Support to a profligate Administration, who, by Means of that, and that alone, have established themselves in a Kind of Power as excessive as unknown in this, or, I might add, in any other Kingdom; running every Length of Insolence and Oppression; impudently counteracting, backwards and forwards, again and again, every Principle they had formerly professed, just as it might serve the temporary Purposes of their own Ambition and Security; consuming the Strength and Substance of the Nation in a War which they *purposely* rendered unsuccessful, because it was not *their own War*;—concluding that War with an in-
—P—e, which they have *wilfully* made precarious, shameful and destructive, in the single View to discredit the Measures of their Rival.

I have seen these Men uninterrupted in this wicked Course; and I still see you, and all Mankind, submissive to all this; tame, abject, passive, with your Eyes but half-opened to your Condition;—stupidly insensible of the Misery you have undergone, or the Ruin that must ensue; and to this Hour doubtful whether any Opposition should be made, or any Endeavours used to redeem the Nation out of this Bondage, or to rescue your S—n out of the Hands of those treacherous Servants, who have taken him C—pt—ve in his Cl—t, and still detain him Prisoner on his T—e.

In this State of Things I think myself bound in Duty to my King, my Country, and my Conscience, to correct the Consequenes of my former Errors as far as I am able to do it. Nor can it be done in a more effectual Manner, than by extending those Lights to you and others, which have undeceived me. I therefore send you, in these Sheets, a De-
duction

duction of such Facts as will open the whole Secret of our m——l Management, as well at Home as Abroad, from the Removal of the Earl of Orford to this Day.

The *two B——rs*, who had joined, and had long endeavoured to betray that Minister, had by *that Merit* (with which the Publick were not acquainted at that Time) recommended themselves as Coadjutors to the Opposition: They had played their Parts so well, as to conceal that Fact from the major Part of that Minister's Friends: They secured his ***** upon that Change, under a Supposition that they were necessary in his Councils to balance the Weight of his new Minister:—They had very early sown so great a Jealousy between the different Parties of the Opposition, by treating *separately* with them *all*, that they soon became too strong to be removed by *any*: And they acted at first with so prudent a Submission to the new Minister, that he was scarce *desirous* to remove them:—They professed, in the C—b—t, the same Zeal to pursue the same Measures, and promised to support them with all the Influence they had. In a Word, they then exercised upon the ***, and upon the new Minister, the same Talents of Imposition and Deceit, as they have since done upon every Individual who has fallen in their Way; upon every Party in their Turn; and at length upon the whole Nation.—By these Means they were suffered to remain in the same Stations which they held before the Change.

But it was not *sufficient* for them to stand, in that Manner, in those Stations. They knew that the Success of the War, (which began to appear early, by the *Disunion* of *Prussia* and *Saxony* from *France*, by the Conquest of *Bavaria*, and the Expulsion of the *French* Armies out of *Germany*) in despite of popular

pular Impatience, or r—l Prejudice, would in Time give Credit to the new Minister and his Measures, both with the People and the K—; and that, whenever that Credit was established, it would be more *natural* that the *Revolters* from his Connection should reunite with him, than that they should be continued in the Posts they held: And that, as the Difference had been occasioned *only* by the Want of those Employments, which at first the new Minister had not Power to give, it might be easily made up by the Disposal of those Employments, whenever that Minister should obtain the *Power of taking them away*.

It was necessary for the B——rs, by early Precautions, to prevent the Possibility of this Reunion: In order to which End they cultivated the Acquaintance they had lately made, and at length entered into actual Engagements with the Leaders of the *new* Opposition, expressly stipulating in a proper Time to declare for them; binding themselves, in the strongest Manner, and in all Events, either by Management, or Distress, to prevail upon, or to compel his ***** to make Room for them, by the Removal of the Earl of G——le (then Lord C——t) and his Friends.

To prepare the Way for the more plausible and effectual Execution of this Plan, the *new* Opposition were *instructed* what Part to take, and advised to declare openly (in dependence upon the passionate Temper and perverted Opinion of the Times) for those *pacifick* Principles, which till that very Moment they had condemned themselves, and for the Pursuit of which they were even in that very Instant impetuously driving at the Head of the Earl of Orford; while the two B——rs, without any Difficulty, continued to profess the
same

same Principles, (every where else but in the C—b—t) which they could do without any Suspicion, as having fostered the late Minister in all his Measures upon that System.

The Opposition were *instructed* farther to proceed with the utmost Indecency and Rage, to improve the Heat and Prejudices of the People to a personal Attack upon the — himself; assured of Protection from the ill Consequences which otherways would have attended their Manner of writing and speaking both without Doors and within, by the Power of the two B—rs in the C—b—t and in both H—s.

In farther Consequence of this *secret Union*, it was resolved, That the B—rs should sound forth the Praises, and scatter Terrors of the Abilities of these *new* Leaders; discouraging, at the same Time, with their best Advices, all spirited Attacks or Answers of the —'s Servants, and his Friends, in either H— of P—: While the others, on their Part, should maintain an *affected* Distinction of Respect for the two B—rs in all the Excesses of their Fury against the Person and Measures of his —: They were likewise to promote a favourable Opinion of the Candor, Integrity, Moderation, and true *English* Intentions of the two B——rs, in Contradiction to the *foreign* Intentions, which they were pleased to attribute to the new Part of the Administration; both which they were to inculcate upon the Underlings of their Party, and at the factious Meetings in the City of *Westminster* and *London*, and in every Corner of Sedition where they corresponded in the Kingdom.

When, by these unsuspected Arts, they were grown sufficiently popular, and had puffed one another into sufficient Credit; when their Rivals were sufficiently run down; when the Nation was sufficiently inflamed by the Impunity and Countenance of Faction,

tion, not to be able to judge coolly of the Measures of the Minister, or impartially of the Conduct of private Men; and when they had engaged the Opposition to that Degree of publick Rancour and Abuse of the new Minister and his Friends, that there was no Probability they could ever reunite, they began to open in the C—b—t with that Kind of Language, which, tho' long used in every other Place, they had never ventured to use there before; obstructing, thwarting, and disputing every Measure of the War, which they had flattered his ———, and assured their Colleagues, in the Beginning, they were equally determined to support.

His ——— observed the first Symptoms of this Difference of Sentiments, without much Concern at the Contests they created; which he thought natural enough, considering the different Schools of Politicks in which they had been bred; satisfied, besides, they were too much his Creatures, and owed him too many Obligations, not, upon the whole, to support his Measures; and, perhaps, secretly pleased with the Notion, that this clashing of Interests among some of his M——s might render him more independent of them all.

But he quickly found his Error:—The youngest of the B——rs had no sooner obtained the T——y, which, in the same unfortunate Idea, his ——— had preferred him to, but, like *Sextus Quintus* who threw away his Crutches the Moment he was elected *Pope*, he put off all that humble Devotion which he had ever before expressed, and by which he had so fatally deceived, and openly set himself up to oppose every Opinion of his R—l M—r.

The Observation of this Conduct, naturally moved his ——— to entertain more favourable Sentiments of G——lle and B——h: The Success at

Dettinghen improved that Disposition; and the wonderful Amendment in our foreign Affairs, from the Commencement of the War to that Time, increased his Opinion of their Abilities, and augmented his natural Contempt for the inconsistent *Half-Measures* and *Middle-Principles* contended for by the two *B——rs*.

But what effectually extinguished the Remains of his ——'s Regard for them, was their Conduct in respect to the Propositions made by the Emperor at *Hanau*: Till then their Obstructions to the Measures of the War admitted some Possibility of Doubt, whether it might not proceed from real and honest Opinion: But when the *pacifick M——rs* were the Men to oppose this *pacifick Measure*, in which both the —— himself and *G——lle* would have willingly concurred, if it had not been rejected by them, to whom it was sent over for their *Approbation*, it was evident that they acted upon no *Principles*, either as to Peace or War; and that their sole Object was to defeat *any Measures*, whether of Peace or War, whether right or wrong, by which the new Minister might establish his Credit with his Master, or his Interest in the Nation.

It is now known, that this Accommodation might have been obtained at that Time, for the single Condition of furnishing an annual Subsidy, to support the Emperor, of about 100,000 *l. Sterling* for six Years, or thereabouts, till *Bavaria* could recover the Desolation and Devastation of the War: And, on the other Part, the Emperor offered to withdraw his Forces from the *French*, to give his Daughter in Marriage to the Arch-Duke, and to secure the Imperial Dignity in Reversion to the House of *Austria*, by procuring the said Arch-Duke to be elected King of the *Romans*. — As to *France*,
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she was then willing to put an End to the War, without any Stipulation of any Kind whatsoever, in favour either of herself or her Allies, upon the Terms of the *uti possidetis* only.

You, who must well remember the Clamour raised against Lord G——lle, and against his ***** himself, on account of this Transaction, will undoubtedly stand amazed, nay, will hardly think it possible for the *two B—rs* to have been, in Fact, the Authors of *continuing* the War, which might have been happily and honourably ended at that Time; in consequence of which so many Thousands of Lives, and above thirty Millions, had been *saved* to this Nation; much less that they should be able, at the same Time, not only to conceal this Fact, but to charge it on their Rival with Success. But the Storm was then raised so high against that Minister, and the Arts of the *two B—rs*, and their Allies of the Opposition, had so effectually imposed upon all Denominations of Men, that there was no Absurdity or Untruth, which, as they still stood *unsuspected of Collusion*, they were not able, in Concurrence with each other, to impose upon Mankind.

But his ***** saw the whole of this disingenuous Conduct, and saw it with that Abhorrence which every Man of his honest Character must feel upon an Occasion of that Kind: Seeing also that this was followed by the strongest Opposition to the Treaty of *Worms*, by which the King of *Sardinia* was secured to the Allies, (a Measure that, as the War was to be continued, was of the utmost Consequence to its Success, and without which, in Truth, it could not have been continued at all) he could not help suspecting that the Opposition, both to this Treaty and to the *Hanover* Troops, in P——t, was secretly encouraged by the *two B—rs*; and
con-

consequently it is no Wonder, that, when he found they would neither give him *Leave* to get out of the War, nor suffer him to carry it on, he should cease to favour Men so devoid of all Gratitude or Principle, so detestably combined against the Honour and Interest of his Family and Kingdom; who laboured to sacrifice the Nation in the Course of every publick Measure; who betrayed him while entrusted with his Councils; and who, tho' fostered in his Bosom, instead of employing that Power (which, in regard to domestick Affairs, he had left entirely in their Hands) to the Support of his Government, unnaturally and ungratefully turned it against himself, by prostituting it to the Encouragement of a Faction, which they had nursed and trained up to such a dangerous Personality against his M***** and his Family, that it shrewdly threatned, even then, the very Consequence which it actually produced soon after, that is to say, an Attempt from the *Pretender*, and from *France*, to remove him from the T——-e.

For, in Proportion as the *two B——rs* observed this Wane of Favour, they incited their Allies of the *Broad-Bottom* to the more desperate Behaviour, the more abusive Language, and more violent Opposition to the Measures of the War. The *****'s Family and Ancestors were reviled, and treated with the utmost Contempt by the E—— of *** in the H—— of —, and by P*** and others, with the same Indignity and Outrage, in the H—— of —. His ——'s Message to the H—— of —, acquainting them with the Preparations for an immediate Invasion from *Dunkirk*, in favour of the *Pretender*, was treated as a Joke, and ridiculed accordingly; every Man was bullied and insulted, who dared to suppose that there was one Man in *Britain* who would take

on in that Cause if the Descent should be made; and every Man was branded as a Fool, who manifested a Belief that any Invasion was intended at all: — Nay, this impudent *Affectation* was carried to such an Extent, that there were few, I believe, of the Leaders of the *Broad-Bottoms*, (though not long after brought into the first and most considerable Employments in the Kingdom) who did not persevere in this monstrous Disbelief of the most notorious Fact, till the breaking out of the Rebellion made it impossible to deny it any longer: And by these Means the poor deluded Nation were not only put off from their Guard in that critical and dangerous Conjunction, but such an utter and universal Discredit was given to the Design, that the Bulk of the People were inflamed to greater Resentment against Lord G——e than ever; upon a Supposition, that he intended, by this Artifice, to cast a Slur of *Jacobitism* upon the Violences of the Faction, and to derive an Argument from thence to be the better justified in a farther Prosecution of the War.

In this passionate and frantick Manner the whole Sessions of 1743-4. or 1744. passed away; every Day producing new Motions of Absurdity, for discarding the *Hanoverians*, for recalling all our national Troops, for abandoning our Allies, for giving up the Continent, for intrenching ourselves in our Island, &c. till at length the *French*, upon the Miscarriage of their intended Invasion, and upon the Action before *Toulon*, declared War against *Great-Britain*, which was followed by a Declaration of War from *Great-Britain* against *France*: And this falling out at the latter End of the *Sessions*, when the Faction found it was become not a little difficult to urge any longer that we were not *Principals* in the War, or to set themselves as
strongly

strongly against it as they had hitherto done, the Recess most opportunely furnished them with Time and Leisure to concert some new Pretence to keep up the Spirit of their Opposition.

By this Management, however, the Nation had been wrought into so passionate a Temper, that his — did not think it prudent to make any Change in his Administration: And, at once conscious of the Effect of their own Operations, and presuming on the Strength they had thus wickedly acquired, the two *B——rs* steddily pursued the same Conduct of obstructing every Proposition in the C——t, for the effectual Prosecution of the War; of which it will be highly proper to furnish the World with three notable Instances.

First, at the latter End of the Year 1743. the new Part of the Ministry, after the *French* had attacked the allied Army, commanded by his Majesty in Person, finding Hostilities commenced, and being certain that the *French* would lose no Opportunity to attack us in every other Part, proposed to send a strong Squadron to the *East-Indies*, under Commodore *Barnet*, to protect our Trade and Settlements there, and to be before-hand with *France*: But this Measure, which none of the Arts of Misrepresentation could give a *foreign Complexion* to, was by the two *B——rs* absolutely rejected, because it must be supposed recommended by their Rival: So that it may be truly said, that the *E—t—I—a C——y* stands indebted to *Them* for the Favours they have since received at the Hands of *M. de la Bourdonnois*.

The new Part of the Administration, in the next Place, being apprised of the great Differences subsisting between *Matthews* and *Lestock* in the *Mediterranean*, and very justly apprehending some ill Consequences

sequences from that Disunion between the First and Second in Command, so fatally verified by the Event, earnestly desired to recal *Lestock*; and were so much the warmer in their Instances, because Suspicions had been entertained of his Fidelity:—And it is certain, that it was the current Report in *France*, of which we had repeated Advices here, that *Lestock* would not fight if an Action was to happen:—But the two *B——rs* opposed this Motion also, and carried their Point as before: Which Conduct of theirs must appear infamous enough, when it is recollected with what a furious Malignity they afterwards carried on their Attempt to ruin *Matthews*, and with how much Art, and by what odious and unwarrantable Means they saved and protected *Lestock*; but infinitely more so, when it is known that *Matthews* had declared, before he had accepted the Command, That he could not trust him: That he accepted it at first, upon the absolute Condition that the other should be recalled as soon as he arrived there; and that he constantly and earnestly pressed to be permitted to lay down his Commission, when he found the Influence of the two *B——rs* prevented the Execution of that Promise.

But the third Instance is yet more glaring than either of the two. —In the Campaign of 1744. the allied Army, commanded by Marshal *Wade*, was composed of 22,000 *English*, 16,000 *Hanoverians*, 12,000 *Austrians*, and 35,000 *Dutch*, consisting in the whole of 85,000 Men, the finest Troops that were ever brought into the Field: — An Army fresh, and flushed with the Victory of the preceeding Year. — The *French*, indeed, by taking the Field before us, had gained a Place or two of the *Dutch* Barrier in *Flanders*; but, upon the assembling our Army, and the Passage of the *Rhine*, which was effected

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 fected by Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, in the Middle
 of the Summer, with a Body of 60,000 *Austrians*;
 the *French* were thrown into the utmost Confusion,
 and obliged to detach so great a Part of their Forces
 to oppose that Prince, that they left *Flanders* to be
 maintained by Marshal *Saxe*, with a Body only of
 38,000 Men; their Garrisons being almost totally
 drained of Troops, and wholly unprovided for a
 Siege. In this State of Superiority it was proposed
 to attack Count *Saxe*: But Marshal *Wade*, who re-
 ceived his Orders from the two *B——rs*, either pre-
 tended, or really thought, that the *French* were too
 advantageously posted: And this, with other Dif-
 ficulties and Misunderstandings between the *Dutch*
 and *Austrian* Generals, not yet thoroughly cleared
 up, prevented any Attempt of that Kind. What
 then remained to be done, for it was obviously
 shameful to reap no Manner of Advantage from
 such a Circumstance in our Favour? It was evident,
 that, if you could not fight from the strong Situation
 of the Enemy, you had nothing to do but to invest
 some of the fortified Towns of *France*, which must
 either fall into your Hands with great Ease, in the
 Condition they then were, or oblige the Enemy
 to change his Situation, and expose himself to a
 Battle for their Relief; in which Case our great Su-
 periority, and the Goodness of your Troops, insured,
 in all human Probability, their absolute Defeat.

The Generals, *Ligonier* and *Somerfeldt*, proposed
 to undertake the Sieges of *Maubeuge* and *Landrecy*,
 two Places of prodigious Importance, which opened
 the Way into the very Heart of *France*, and which
 were then garrisoned but by two Battalions each:
 The said Generals engaged to effect this Service with
 twenty Battalions and thirty Squadrons, which could
 have weakened the main Army, then superior to
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the Enemy by 50,000 Men, but by 7 or 8000 Men : All they desired more was a few battering Cannon ; and the whole *English* Train, (the finest which this Nation ever had abroad, and which had cost us as much again as any Train had cost us in the late War, tho' never once used in this) lay then no farther off than *Ostend*, consisting, as I remember, of sixty Twenty-four-Pounders, forty Twelve-Pounders, and thirty or forty Mortars ; not one of them however was permitted to be brought up ; the *B——rs* would not suffer it ; the War was not *their* Measure ; they had *foretold* it would be unsuccessful ; and, in order to make their Words good, they had resolved that unsuccessful it should be.

But it was necessary to colour this fatal Step by some plausible Pretence ; and, at the same Time, if they could, to throw the Blame of their own Guilt upon their Allies, according to the usual Course of their Endeavours through the whole of the War.

Upon this Requisition therefore of the Artillery, the younger *B——r* shrugged his Shoulders ; harangued upon the Virtues of Oeconomy ; complained of the vast Burden of the War ; insisted that the Expence was impossible to be born, unless the *Dutch* could be brought to pay their Quota ; urged that we must try whether they would not be content to pay a third, or at least a fourth Part of the Charge ; and concluded, That he could not justify his Conduct to his Conscience, or to Parliament, if he did not wait to see what was possible to be done with them.

And now new Negotiations were set on Foot to regulate this important Point, which he well knew must consume, as it did, the whole Summer ; or at least as much Time as was necessary to prevent the Execution of this Plan.

And thus, under this affected Air of Prudence, and a false Regard to an Object of 18, or 20,000 *L.* Value at most, (for the whole Expence proposed was but 70,000 *L.* for bringing up the Cannon, and about 7000 *L.* for opening the Ground before those two Places) this inviting Opportunity, of carrying the Arms of the Allies, in the second or third Year of *this* War, whither they could never penetrate, till the last Year of *that* conducted by the great Duke of Marlborough, was lost.

The *two B——rs*, now become sensible that his ——'s Patience could not endure any longer, conscious that he must have determined within himself to abandon them, and to throw the entire Management of his Affairs into the Hands of the new Part of the Administration; and aware that he had no other Expedient to save the Nation from being sacrificed in the Prosecution of the War, or to redeem himself out of those Fetters which his old Servants, whom he had not only raised, but saved, were ungratefully preparing for him; the *B——rs*, I say, thus circumstanced, now thought it incumbent on them to perform their Contract with the *Broad-Bottoms*: And accordingly took that desperate Step of forcing his —— to dismiss every Person in his Administration, for whom, after what had passed, he could retain the least Regard, or in whom he could repose any Confidence or Trust, in order to make Room for an equal Number of their *Confederates* in the Opposition:—All of them Men who had rendered themselves personally obnoxious to his ——, either by promoting or countenancing such *personal* Attacks on his Character, his Conduct, his Family, as had a Tendency to shake the C—— upon his Head.

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As I do not desire to enflame ; as I have a Tenderness for some, and Charity for others, I will not be over particular in my Recollections : But there is one of the Number whose Case is so singularly black, that I cannot pass him over in Silence. He had been long guilty of treasonable Practices, and he knew his——had so many Proofs of that Guilt before him, that he thought it the most decent Part he could act, to make a frank Confession of all:——

Accordingly he did so ; avowed his Attachment to the *Pretender* and his Cause, and put in for a Court-Absolution, on the Merit of declaring that he had renounced his former Principles, quitted his former Party, and would never countenance either again.

His ——, on the other Hand, not knowing how to help himself, and being prompted to believe that he ought to esteem this Declaration a sufficient Security for the future Allegiance of him who made it, not only took all he had said in good Part, but suffered him to be placed in one of the first O——s of the C——n ; where he still continues, with greater Marks of Influence and Favour than almost any other Man.

But the more obnoxious and dangerous these Persons were, so much the more proper they appeared for the Purpose of this audacious Attempt. It was the Business of the B——rs, as they could not work upon the Inclinations of their S——n to govern by his Fears, and, upon the same Principles, as they could not hope to establish their Authority over the People, by any longer Delusion of their Understandings, to confirm it by the proudest and most insolent Demonstration of their Power.

Nothing else can account for the irregular and unprecedented Manner in which these Men were introduced to him :——They were introduced in publick

blick in a Body; not by the proper Officers about the —'s Person, always in waiting for that Purpose, but by one of the *B——rs* himself, with all Pomp and Ostentation that could attend the Glory of a Triumph: Standing like a *Pr——t——ct——r* at the Elbow of an Infant *K——*, bloated with Pride, purpled and inflamed with the inward Workings of those various Passions which may be supposed to agitate a Man in the very Act and Execution of such a Measure:———A Measure which raised, in the same Instant, Amazement, Abhorrence, and Compassion in the Breast of all the Spectators of this unexampled Scene; ———who beheld what had never been seen before in such a Light, and in one View, the Arrogance of a *M———r*, the Impudence and insolent Carriage of a *F——*, and the Fortitude of a distressed *P———*, forced out of his *C———t* to receive the *L——w* from his *S——ts*, in the Face of his People; and yet, in Appearance, the only Man unmoved throughout the whole Course of this unparalleled Transaction.

To look back upon this Event, and to know that his *M——* endured it, that the Nation connived at it, and that no fatal Confusion immediately followed from it, is a Matter of Astonishment to us, the living Witnesses of this Conduct, and will surpass the Comprehension of all Mankind who shall hereafter read the Story of these Times.

Ministers have been torn from Kings, and Kings have been obliged to stoop to the Power of great Subjects.—This was done in the Reigns of King *John*, of *Henry III.* of *Edward II.* and *Richard II.* But it was never done till the Tyranny of those Princes, by attempting openly the Laws and Liberties, and trampling upon all the Rights of the People and Mankind, had justified and reconciled
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that Conduct, by the great and superior Law of Laws, *Necessity* :—Nor even then was it ever done but by Force of Arms: The Force of the whole Nation armed against the Prince, and united with the Lords?—But that a Cabal in the C——ls of their P——, of a P—— commanding Armies greater than any this Country ever paid before; a P—— intitled to the Affections of his People, by a mild and just Government; who had never committed, or attempted to commit, a single Act of Injustice against any one private Man:—That such a Cabal should obtain such a M——y over such a P——e, is the first Instance of the Kind that ever dishonoured the Annals of this or any other Country.

And yet neither the Body of the People, who have ever loved their old monarchical Constitution, and that Prerogative which they know is necessary to its Support; nor the Peers, whose apparent Interest it is to maintain the Honour of the P——e inviolate, from whom they derive their *own*; nor the Commons, jealous, as, from the first Principles of Preservation, they must naturally be, of all *Aristocratical* Encroachments, interposed against this, the worst *Species* of that *Genus*.—But altogether supinely, meanly, servilely, suffered both their — and Country to sink prostrate under the Power and Insolence of a Faction, founded neither upon the Merit of their Forefathers, or their own; upon an Extraction superior, or upon Abilities equal to those of a thousand other Lords and Gentlemen in this Nation.

The secret Cause of this, however, cannot be long looked for, but it must be found.—And may it be a Lesson to all future Princes in this and every other Country, that, though *Corruption*, in the Beginning, may be a proper Instrument to destroy the
 Liberties

Liberties of a People, it will become, in the End, an Engine to enslave the Prince himself!

But that baneful Influence had now shed its Venom upon all Orders of Men; and agreeable to the Virulence of the Humour were the Eruptions it caused.

That putrid Body, of which the E— of O—d had been the Head, poisoned the very Air with the pestilential Breath they uttered on this Occasion: For, tho' they looked on the Promotions of that Day, as so many Injuries to the Members of their own rotten Corps, the Interest they had in the *Cause* made Amends for the *Effect*. Hitherto the *two B—rs* had been considered but as the Rump of the C—b—t, but now they were become manifestly the Head: All Things were in their Power, for they had subdued h—m who had the Distribution of all Things; and hence they were led to extol this atrocious Outrage to the R—l Dignity, with an Impudence that was scarce surpassed by the Outrage itself: According to the Language they publicly used, in every publick Place of Resort, it was a more glorious Illustration of the Excellency of Whig-Principles, than ever had been displayed before; not excepting the noble Stand made by *Hampden* in the Ship-Money Affair, or the united Efforts of the Nation against the Tyranny of King *James*.

In transferring therefore their Allegiance from the T—— to these pretended Supporters of it, we are to suppose that they put in for a Share of the Patriotism they so highly praised: And we are sure, that, in return, they promised themselves every Boon and Gratification their greedy Appetites could crave, the Power of their Patrons bestow, or the Plunder of the whole Nation furnish.

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The interested Part of the poor Tories, who had been drawn in to give their helping Hands to this Confusion, by the cant Word of the *Broad-Bottom*, and the avowed Cause which had been assigned for the Renewal of the Opposition against the new Ministers, now thought the Day was come, when the partial Distribution of Emoluments was at an End; and that they should likeways attain the Reward of their Labours, in assisting to bring about this glorious Change.

Even the *Jacobites* rejoiced also in this memorable Event, which they had Sense enough to foresee would contribute greatly to advance their Views:— And they were the only Party that rejoiced with Reason; for they were the only one who were not disappointed in their Expectations and Conclusions from it.

For, as to those of the first Class, they already possessed too large a Proportion of the Spoil, to dare, as a Body, to resent any Neglect or Disappointment, for Fear of losing what they had:—And, as Individuals, they had made their Leaders too strong to apprehend the Mutiny of a few; or to stand in Fear of the Abilities or Interest of any one, or of any ten among them; and were therefore the very first to feel the Coldness, the Ingratitude and Contempt which they had so many Ways deserved.

As to the second, they were obliged to content themselves with the Advancement of two or three Men, whom they had suffered to take Shelter amongst them, tho' more properly belonging to the third Class, than to theirs; and with a Bill for the Qualification of Justices of the Peace, which, when granted, they found impracticable and useless: To which, by way of Make-Weight, were thrown in certain hungry Church-Livings, to gratify a very few Country Clergy-

Clergymen of their respective Neighbourhoods, and about the same Number of Tide-Waiters Places, to dole about among those who were of consequence to them in their Ele — ns.

But even these Scraps and Fragments, which had been scattered amongst them from the M——l Table, they were not long suffered to partake of: On the contrary, the more weak and miserable they appeared, the less Compassion they found; till at length, finding every Door of Preferment shut against them, and overcome with Shame and Vexation, they absented themselves from the Service of P——, which had been so little serviceable to them; and, retiring to their Country Seats, wisely bethought themselves, that Frugality and Oeconomy were a surer, if not a nearer Way to a Affluence, than that which led to the Exchequer itself.

And as to the Nation in general, hurried, as they had been, from Principle to Principle, drawn from one Attachment to another, and withdrawn at last from all Attachment whatsoever, by the reiterated Disappointments they had met with, they had hardly any Idea left of what was right; they saw no Person in whom they could confide; they were as much at a Loss as to Facts as Characters; they knew not what to believe or disbelieve; and under this cruel Uncertainty they could neither resettle any Opinion, replace any Confidence, nor form any Judgment, either of this or any other publick Affair.

Hence, therefore, it was, that a Proceeding of so shocking a Nature served rather to confound them yet farther, than to clear the Way for Conviction; and that a profound Calm succeeded to the loudest Storm which had ever agitated this Nation in the Remembrance of any Man alive.

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From the Extremity of an intemperate and inconsistent Fury, tho' proceeding from honest Intentions, and pointed to just and honourable Views, they sunk at once into a senseless Stupidity, into a total Inattention to every Step or Measure of their Government; to an Insensibility of every Abuse in the Conduct of their Affairs; and of that most fatal and ignominious Train of Events which soon followed, without any Interruption, one upon another, to the Shame, Distress, and almost Ruin of the Community. So fatally did the Resentment of having resigned their Sense and their Principles to a Set of Men, by whom they had been so cruelly betrayed, operate! And so frantick was the Resolution they came to, never to respect, to follow, or to trust any Man, or any other Set of Men again.

This was the State of Things and Men, which enabled the two *B—rs* and their *Allies* to establish themselves in that exorbitant, that unconstitutional, and that usurped Power which they have enjoyed from the Beginning of the Year 1745. to this Day.

And such a State of Men and Things, one would have thought, was very sufficient for that Purpose, or any other Purpose, without any farther Provision.

But their Possessions, and the Profits of them, were so great, that they believed the Risque suitable, and therefore that they could not insure too high, or extend their Precautions too far.

Accordingly they set themselves, in the next Place, to take such a Part of the Citizens of *London* into their Connection, as should enable them to trample upon the rest; and to obtain such an additional Strength in the C—b—t C—l, as should render them as secure within, as they were strong without.

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First, then, as to the City, they made *sure* of such among the leading Citizens as were fittest for their Purpose, by the Means of Remittances, Contracts, Subscriptions, and Benefits of Embargoes; and they made a Push for Popularity, by giving up the Point, so long in vain solicited by the Common-Council, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen should have no Negative on their Proceedings: And as to the C—b—t, they not only introduced the D—— into it, but, to engage him still stronger to their Interests, intrusted him with the Command of the *English* Troops, then worried the *Dutch*, and, at last, compelled the *Q. of Hungary* to consent to the Extension of that Command over the whole confederate Army.

The D—— was, *at that Time*, popular; and he was undoubtedly brave: The second is a Quality essential to a *Soldier*, and the first was a Circumstance convenient for them: But there were other Circumstances attendant upon the Choice, which were yet more convenient to the B——rs than either of these, and which deserve the most serious Attention of the whole People of *Great-Britain*.

By investing the D—— in this Command, they naturally fixed him in their Interest, and, at the same Time, rendred him, in some Points, dependent upon them.

They were aware that a Time might come, how long soever the Interval might be, when a Leader of his high Rank and Character might be their only Resource, and under whose Shadow they might once again force themselves into Power, and give the Law in the C—b—t, if all other Means should fail. They also flattered themselves, that to carry so great a Point for a favoured S—n, might be no disagreeable Thing to a F——r, very tender to that

S—n:

S—n: And, omnipotent as they had rendred themselves, they were not above taking such a Step, to recover some Portion of the Favour they had lost, as, at the same Time, essentially served their own peculiar Interests.

There was, besides, another Convenience resulting from this Destination of the D—e, which they had in their Eye ; namely, that it rendred their Domination over the Officers of that Army much more effectual and less obnoxious.—For any Hardship, Severity, or Revenge, might be exercised by them, any unjust Preference might be shewn under the Colour of his Authority, and then imputed to him : By which they were eased, so far as it occasionally suited their Inclinations, of the Burden of Solicitations, discharged from the Odium of all Denials, screened from all Conviction of Partiality, Influence, or Oppression ; and yet, upon the whole, they remained equally Masters, in Reality, of all Rewards and Punishments.—And it was noways difficult, when proper, to let Individuals understand, that the Sweet of the former flowed from the two B—rs, and the Bitter of the latter from the D—e himself : To which may be added, that they had it at all Times in their Power to prevent the D—e from taking more upon him than they thought proper to permit, by directing or causing him to do that which they knew must render him obnoxious as a Man ; or, by distressing him on the Head of Supplies, render him unsuccessful, and by Consequence contemptible as a Commander.

But to exemplify, yet farther, the Advantage derived from this Measure in favour of the D—e, and how admirably it was adapted to remove their Fears, establish their Power, and gratify their Revenge, it remains to be told, That there was but one Person

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in Br—n from whom they had any Thing to apprehend: A Person whose natural Interest, sooner or later, was likely to be too mighty for them; whose natural Inclinations were too noble and too good to be debauched by any Temptations; who, having no Purposes to serve, but such as were both innocent and meritorious, was out of the Reach of Terror; and who had too reverential a Regard for his R— F—, too tender an Affection to his Posterity, too high a Value for his own Glory, too warm a Zeal for the Splendor of the *British* Monarchy, and too passionate a Concern for the Welfare of the *British* Nation, to make the smallest Sacrifice to so infamous a Cabal. A *strict Union* in the R—I F—y must have placed that Person where he ought to be placed, at the right Hand of the T—e; a Situation too close to his ———'s Ear, for any wicked M—r to suffer an H— ap—t to occupy; especially an H—ap— with so much Application to learn what was right, such superior Opportunities of knowing what was wrong, and so honest a Heart to rectify the one, and to prosecute the other. That therefore this *strict Union* might be rendred as hopeless as their Management could render it, they not only followed the Foot-Steps of their great Original, the E— of O——, in making or widening a Breach, as they followed him in every Thing else that was weak or ill, but they improved upon his Practice, by bringing forward the y——r B——r on the Stage of Action, with all the Advantages they could heap upon him; that, by some dazzling Exploit, he might eclipse the e—r, that they might create a Jealousy between both, or nourish an *improper* Arrogance in the one, which they imagined would not fail to beget an *improper* Resentment in the other; And that, from every one of these Consequences, they might

might draw some considerable Advantages to themselves, by playing upon the Passions or Prejudices of their R——l M——r.

It is no Breach of Charity to say, Such was their Purpose: And it is out of all Question that this Purpose of theirs hath been effectually defeated: For such was the good Sense, and such the happy Temper of the P——, that he betrayed no Resentment, he entertained no Jealousy, and he received his B——r, *as often as he had an Opportunity* to receive him, with all the Distinction due to his Birth and Services.

But if, in this one Particular, this notable Measure has failed, in every other it has answered their most sanguine Expectations.

Nothing hath been more frequent in former Times, or is in its own Nature more reasonable, than P——y Inquiries, and more particularly into the Conduct of a long, expensive, and unfortunate War: But if any such Motion should be made under the present Dispensation, may we not expect to be told, that the complying with it would be injurious to the D——, who had the chief Command in it, and ungracious to the whole R—— F——?

If, to shew the Necessity of such an Inquiry, it should be urged, that our Musters in the Field seldom exceeded half the Number given in upon Paper, or stipulated for in our Conventions, or promised in ———, or provided for by the Nation; and if, in support of this Fact, the free Declarations of every Officer without Doors who had served Abroad, or even the Intimations of some of them within, should be cited, Would not the Answer be ready? The D—— has mustered them complete: The D—— has certified them complete: Will any Man dare to dispute what the D—— asserts? Will you credit common Fame against the D——'s Report? Will you countenance

nance the Intimation of any inferior Officer against the Authority of the D— himself? &c.

There is no Man who reads this, who does not feel the Force of such a Battery; and who will not acknowledge, that the Virtue and Spirit of these Times are abundantly too feeble to bear up against it, unless with the Weight of the whole Cabal for their Support.

In the Reign of Queen *Anne*, indeed, we meet with a Parliamentary Arraignment of our Naval Conduct, when his Royal Highness Prince *George of Denmark*, Her Majesty's Consort, was Lord High Admiral of *England*: But what was difficult then, would, perhaps, be found impossible now; and it would be in vain to quote a Precedent which no Body would dare to make use of.

I would not, however, be understood to draw the least Inference, from what has been said, to the Disadvantage of his R— H—: If both the Declarations of Officers without Doors, and the Intimations of those within, are untrue, that Untruth ought, for his Sake, to be manifested: If otherways, it cannot, I think, with Decency be expected, that any Name, how respectable soever, should be interposed between the Publick and those who have betrayed it.

We all know the Payments did not pass through his Hands: It cannot be imagined that our Allies would be so unreasonable, or so immodest, as to insist on being paid for Troops they did not furnish: It cannot be imagined that our thrifty M——rs would comply with their Demands if they did: But when we know that no *Saving* hath ever occurred to the Nation, on this, or on any other Article whatsoever; and therefore it is to be wished that such Methods might be taken, to set this Affair in as clear

a Light as would serve to evince, that, amongst the Motives of setting the D—— at the Head of the Army, that of preventing or defeating P—— Inquiries was never once thought of.

In Tenderness to his R—— H——, I am also as unwilling to suppose, that another of the Motives for conferring this high Trust upon him, was for the sake of ruining the War with so much the more Facility; which, however incredibly wicked it may seem, was not only their constant Endeavour, while they were Under-Actors or Co-Adjutors in the C——b——t, but the settled, determined, nay, stipulated Plan upon which they proceeded with their new Allies, when they got the whole Power of this Country into their Hands, as in the Sequel will be made sufficiently plain: But, unwilling as I am to suppose that any such horrid Practices were tried on a P—— of such Hopes, I can scarce avoid it, when I reflect upon the more horrid Practices which the same Cabal had previously tried both on S——v——n and Subject; and when I also reflect upon the obvious Considerations which might serve as Inducements to it: As, 1st, His natural Temper, which was warm; 2d, His Rank, which put him above the Controul of any Colleague; and, 3d, His Inexperience in the Practice of War: All of them such Ingredients in the Composition of a General, as could not fail to lead him into some Errors, and to create such Misunderstandings and Dissentions as had an unavoidable Tendency to ruin the War.

But, as if these Simples were not likely to work up a Ferment sufficiently strong, we find them, moreover, insisting on his, the D——'s, having the supreme Command of the *Dutch*, even after the *Stadtholder* had been chosen; refusing to accept of any Temperament; rendering it thereby impracticable for the

two Armies to join, consequently rendering both Armies unserviceable, and at once furnishing the States with Pretences to excuse themselves from putting the Power of the Republick into such Hands as would have exerted it honestly against the common Enemy, and sowing such Seeds of Animosity between his R— H—and his B——er the P—— of O——, as, in Concurrence with all the other Parts of the Management, could not fail to operate to the Ruin of the War; but still in so artful a Manner as to screen themselves from all Possibility of Accusation on that Head; as having that plausible Pretence always at Hand, That it was for the Honour of the Nation, and for the Honour of His——, that they had insisted upon this Point; and thereby so involving the D—— in the visible and more immediate Misfortunes of the War, as to make it impossible to charge *them* indirectly, without charging his R—— H—— directly; and by Consequence rendering themselves invulnerable, but through the Side of a favourite P—— of the Blood R——.

If it should be urged, That, according to this Representation, the D—— himself hath as much Reason to complain of their Perfidy, as either the * * * his F——, the P—— his B——r, or the whole Nation in general, it would be readily granted *he hath*: But then, had the War prospered under his Direction, he would have owed his Establishment to his own Importance, and must have reduced *them* to a Dependence upon *him*; whereas, the Case being as it is, *they*, as the only Conquerors, consider *him* but as a Dependent upon *them*, and make Provision for *his* Greatness only to support their *own*.

And here let us pause a Moment, to reflect on the Danger of too close a Connexion between the
Military

Military Power, and that of a Cabal, not only in the usurped Possession of the Civil, but so desperately tenacious of it, as to put all Things to the Hazard, rather than suffer it to be torn out of their Hands, even by him who gave it.

It is needless to say, that the very Notion of an Army, in Time of Peace, is abhorrent to the Genius and Constitution of this Kingdom ; and that even, to this Hour, the Military is rather *tolerated* from Year to Year, than made a Part of the National Establishment : These are Facts known to every Body. But every Body does not know, or does not consider, how peculiarly alarming any *Extension* of that *unconstitutional* Power is at this Crisis, or what Convulsions it may one Day give Rise to. It is the *Use* only that is made the Pretence for any such *Extension* : But it is the *Abuse* we ought to guard against. What under a *mere* Subject might only create Displeasure, under one that is *something more* may both create and warrant Suspicion, if his *known Virtues* did not forbid us to *entertain* it : That, however, some very strange Attempts have already been made, with regard to *Court-Martials*, cannot be denied ; and that the present Plan of reducing the Army is very different from those formerly observed, may be collected by any Body who will be at the Trouble of comparing them : According to that now in Operation, the Establishment, both in *England* and *Ireland*, will consist of many more Regiments than ever were admitted before ; and, while the Publick is artfully taught to measure the Reduction by the Numbers of *private Men* discharged, it will be easy for those in the Command to augment them to 60, or 70,000 Men, without the Addition of a single Officer, without any extraordinary or perceptible Movement, and by the common Method of recruiting only.

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These, it must be owned, are ugly Symptoms; and these, perhaps, are not the worst that might be specified: *Tam Marte quam Mercurio*, is a Saying which may be applied with as much Propriety almost to every Officer who has a S—— in either ***** as to *Cæsar* himself.

In vain, therefore, do we clamour for *Place-Bills*, to guard against an *unnatural* Influence in P——, if, for every Door we shut, we open two; and if we suffer the brave Man, who had acted the Part of a *Hero* abroad, to be exposed to the Necessity of acting the Part of a *Prostitute* at home.

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In short, the Continuance and Growth of that Influence is at all Times to be dreaded; but never more so than when it is liable to the Direction of the Military, or of such an Association of Interests as amounts to the same Thing, or as may be pressed into the same Service. And, on the other Hand, when the Military is put on as high a Footing as the Legislative, we may be sure the *Hand* of *Esaú* will soon prevail against the *Voice* of *Jacob*. A Body of Men that bore the sacred Name of Parliament, (whether they were justly intitled to it or not) were once rejected by the Creatures of their own Power; and, if we do not apprehend that the like Violence can be ever again committed, we ought to recollect that our Ancestors did not apprehend it could ever be committed at all.

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Upon the Whole, then, let me have Leave to say, with all imaginable Respect for the illustrious Person we have been discoursing of, with the most grateful Sense of his Merit and Services, which ought to be acknowledged, encouraged and rewarded in every Way but this; let me have Leave to say, and I hope every brave and honest Man in the Kingdom will say with me, 1st. That the vesting the D—— with

with the chief Command of the Army, was a Measure which arose from the most insidious Advice, which was calculated to serve the most unjustifiable Purposes, and which hath already produced the most tragical Effects. And, 2dly. That the continuing him in the said Command, after the Conclusion of a *Definitive Treaty*, had taken away all reasonable Pretence for so doing, and under the Domination of a Faction potent enough to concentrate in themselves all the essential Powers of the M—n—rc—y, cannot be regarded but as an Attempt to perpetuate the Acquisition they have made, and to hold the M—n—rc—y in perpetual Vassalage.

We have now seen the B——rs mounted on the Shoulders of the ———: We have shewn the Steps they took to attain that monstrous Elevation; and we have pointed out the Means by which they expect to secure their Stability.

From the Removal of the E—— of O——, to the Close of the Year 1744. it was but natural for the Passion of the Times, the Variety of the Transactions, the infinite Arts that were used to disguise the Truth of Facts, and the intricate Nature of many of those Facts, which do not immediately, sometimes never, come into the publick View, to create a Doubt on whom to fix as Author of any one Act in the motley and mixed Administration during the Interval: But from that Period there can be no longer any Doubt to whom to give the Praise, if any Praise is due, and on whom to bestow the Curses of the Nation, if any Curses are due to those who have had the Conduct of our publick Affairs.

I have already said, that they had determined, nay, I have said more, that they had stipulated with their new Allies to ruin the War: Both which Assertions have something in them so extraordinary, that I should

should not expect them to find Belief, if they were not uniformly supported by the whole Tenor of their Management; if some undeniable Proofs had not already occurred in the Course of these Sheets; if the Matter of Fact had not been acknowledged, nay, gloried in by some of the greatest and ablest of those who were Parties to the infamous Contract, of which this was the principal Condition; and if the *B——rs* themselves, though charged with it both in publick and private, had ever dared, either in publick or private, to deny it.

But, in Cases of such enormous Guilt as this, such is the Weakness or Generosity of Mankind, that, after the strongest Proofs, and even after Confession of the Fact, either they have some Remains of Diffidence, or Returns of Curiosity; and for that Reason it may be expedient to offer such farther Evidence as may serve both to illustrate and account for such a Proceeding, at once so desperate in its own Nature, and seemingly so contradictory to the Interests of those who put in Practice.

First, then, The two *B——rs* had been brought up at the Feet of *W——* (who was their *Gamaliel* in Politicks) and had acted an under-Part in every pacifick Measure which had been the Disgrace of his Administration. When he refused to assist the Emperor in the War of 38. and for Want of that Assistance the House of *Austria* was deprived of the Two *Sicilies*, as also of other States in *Italy*, and *Lorraine* was ceded to *France*, they were of his Cabal in private, and in publick his Advocates. When nothing but a War could secure us from the Piracies of the *Spaniards*, they countenanced him in his *Convention*, and every other wretched Subterfuge he had Recourse to with a Purpose to avoid it; and, when it could

could be no longer avoided, they also countenanced him in all the feeble, dilatory, ruinous Measures he took to render it ineffectual, and thereby justify his own Backwardness to enter into it.

When therefore *W*—— was removed, and they were suffered to continue, it was but natural that his Followers should fill up their Train; for how much soever they were pleased with his Removal, or had contributed to it, they had kept the Secret so well, that it was scarce suspected. In this Following consisted their Strength, not in their Parts or Characters: They knew it, and they made their Dispositions accordingly: The new *M*——'s Plan was diametrically opposite to that of the old: The — had embraced it, because it appeared more agreeable to his own Glory, and the Figure these Nations had used to make amongst their Neighbours: He that proposed they knew would lead, which was by no Means favourable to their Views and Interests; and the Method they took to supplant him was to recommend the *Old System*, in Contradiction to the *New*; and, under the Pretence of that *Consistency*, which they had not observed themselves, to engage the *Phalanx*, when Time should serve, to avow it.

But this Affectation of Consistency was no other than the Gloss which they endeavoured to set on their own Rottenness: They had been fond of Peace, only because they were fonder of Corruption; and as a steady Perseverance in the *Right* was justly ranked among the Virtues, they knew they had Partizans firm and intrepid enough to pass an obstinate Prosecution of the *Wrong*, upon the World, for the same Thing.

They were, moreover, encouraged in this Prosecution, by the almost incredible Change which their Allies in the Opposition had found Means to effect

fect in the Opinions and Behaviour of the People; for tho' the War was a Measure which they had called for themselves; tho' it had been advised, recommended and supported by Parliament; tho' it was consistent with all the Principles of Policy pursued by all wise Nations, and in particular with those of this; and tho' it was certain that the contrary Measure would, in the present Case, have resigned the World to *France*; that an Acquiescence in the Grandeur of that dangerous Neighbour had never been countenanced by any upright Parliament, nor endured by the Nation, nor ever avowed by any Minister, till both Minister and K—, in the Reign of *Charles II.* were bought and sold by those of *France*, nor ever made a Point of Opposition, till the discarded Ministers of that and the next infamous Reign set it up against the Measures of King *William*; I say, tho' all these Facts were notorious and undeniable, the new Ministers were rendered unpopular, by following the very Maxims which had rendered all other Ministers popular: In Proportion as their Credit grew tarnished, that of the War did the same; and, intoxicated with the Draught they had swallowed, the Publick were induced to forgive the Tools of *W—*'s hated Administration, rather than confide any longer in the Efforts of those whose Glory it had been to remove him.

This is sufficient to account for the Obstacles raised by the two *B—rs*, and the Clamour made against the War, while they acted only an under-Part in the carrying it on: And, without stopping to wonder that the same Pretences, which had operated so forcibly upon the Publick against their Rivals, and which ought to have operated with double that Force against them, had, from the Moment they carried their Point, no Operation at all; or to ask, as others have

have done, Why, when they found themselves Masters of the C—b—t, they did not act as cavalierly in it with respect to *Measures*, as they had presumed to do with respect to *Men*? I shall proceed to explain, *first*, the Motives which induced them to take that preposterous Determination to ruin the War, which, in Contempt of their Notions of Consistency they had promised to support; and *then* the several Steps and Gradations by which they obtained their Ends.

On the first of these Articles little need be said; for nothing can be more evident, than that, if the War had been successful, even in their own Hands, the Honour of that Success would have redounded to the *first Advisers* of it; in which Case it was reasonable to expect that the Tide of *Popularity* would once again have turned in *their* Favour: Not a *City-Recorder*, or a *Corporation-Town-Clerk* could *then* have made a congratulatory *Speech*, or drawn up an *Address*, but the Eyes of the People would have been turned upon *them*; whatsoever had been said in favour of those national *Topicks*, the Obligation of Treaties, the Reasonableness of supporting our Allies, and Necessity of asserting the Honour of the Nation, and the indispensable Duty of retrieving our commercial Interest, rivalled by *France*, and invaded by *Spain*, would have been said in favour of *them*: And it would have been utterly forgot that ever *they* had been considered as *Fools*, or *Tools*, or *Hanoverians*.

Nor was this the *worst* which the B——rs had to expect from a prosperous Issue of the War; for they had the same Reason to expect that the *Power* of their Rivals would have returned with their *Popularity*, and that the Negotiations for a Peace would have been intrusted to them, in the Course of which
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they might have displayed such Parts and Abilities, and realized so many Advantages to the Nation, as had put them out of the Reach of Opposition for the Time to come: Under *their* Direction, No SEARCH would have been the *first* Preliminary we had signed with *Spain*, and the *absolute* Demolition of *Dunkirk* (not such a *collusive* Stipulation as that which at present so highly and so justly offends the Publick) had been the *first* we had signed with *France*: Instead of obliging our Allies to *dispense* with our Engagements, we had *fulfilled* them; instead of gratifying our Enemies at *their* Expence, we had gratified *them* at the Expence of our Enemies; and, as to *Cape-Breton*, instead of prostituting the Honour of the Nation, by sending *Hostages* to *France* by way of *Pawn* for its *Restitution*, it had remained to the *British* Empire, as an *eternal Proof* of the Rectitude of a System which had been ennobled by the Efforts of King *William*, and the Triumphs of the Duke of *Marlborough*; and which had never been discountenanced, but when a *French* Mistress had the Ascendency in the Bed-Chamber, or a *French* Minister in the Cabinet.

These would have been the Fruits of their Labours with respect to foreign Affairs; and, in virtue of the Importance which they must have unavoidably derived from so many important Services, they would have been able to disperse those *Locusts* which had so long devoured the Land; and to promote those *Reformations* which the Publick had once so impatiently demanded; and which *they* had never been able to promote effectually before.

This is sufficient to shew what *personal Inducements* the two *B—rs* were directed by: And now it is fit to shew farther what additional Strength this left-handed Bias of theirs received from their new
Allies

Allies of the *Broad-Bottom*. The latter, it seems, had suffered themselves to be so jockeyed in their Treaty, had come in upon such *low* Terms, in Comparison to the *Height* of their Demands, and were, moreover, so *disjointed* by their *Infidelities* to each other, that they found themselves *at first* more uneasy in the Possession, than ever they had been in the Pursuit. As they had never esteemed the *B—rs*; after this Treatment they could not help distrusting them; and they had no Way to be secure in their Employments, but by putting them, the *B—rs*; on such Measures, and driving them on such Difficulties, as should at the same Time expose them yet farther in the *C—b—t*, and render their own Services so much the more necessary for their Support: With this double View they insisted on the Necessity of saving Appearances for a Session at least, and, in order thereto, of acting in such a Manner as should seem to reconcile the two seemingly opposite Characters of *Patriot* and *Placeman*. This the *B—rs*, wanting either Courage to deny, or Skill to obviate, were forced to yield to, tho' aware of the Perplexities and Mischiefs it would unavoidably bring upon them: Accordingly, during that whole *S—n*, the *Broad-Bottoms* acted in such an ambiguous Manner, alternately opposing and supporting, condemning and approving, flattering and abusing both Measures and Men, as confounded all Principles of Judgment, or Probability of Conjecture. Such Placemen, such Patriots, such Politicks, had never been seen in this Country before; and the Nation was more intent on gaping at this incomprehensible Phenomenon, than in attending to, or guarding against the Dangers it foreboded.

But we ought not to hurry over this Scene, without throwing a due Degree of Distinction on the

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principal

principal Actor in it. There was one Man, among the *Broad-Bottoms*, of affected Candour, but no Principle, of a fluent Tongue, and steady Countenance, who, on the Merit of being ill used by *W—*, and too well used by the *P—* of —, had set himself up as the *Cicero* of the Times for Eloquence, and as another, *Cato* for Inflexibility: This Man, this great Man, was purposely left out of the general Promotion, that he might come in afterwards with so much the more Weight; that he might be at Liberty to use such Language, and raise such Difficulties and Obstructions in the Course of the *S—n*, as, on the one Hand, should oblige the *B—rs* to perform Articles; and, on the other, should furnish them with Pretences to oblige the **** to do the same.

These Articles were two: The one ostensible, and peculiar to the *Broad-Bottoms*: The other non-ostensible, and common to both the contracting Parties. The first comprehended the Dismissal of *Half* the *Hanoverian* Forces, by way of Tub to the Populace: And the other the Ruin of the War. The *B—rs* were willing enough to comply with the former, when they considered its Operation with respect to the latter: But when they considered farther, of what more immediate Importance it was to them to recover, if possible, some Degree of Favour in the *C—b—t*, just for the Sake of making the Time they spent there so much the more easy to themselves, they were for postponing the Experiment; at least they so pretended; and in Actions of this double Nature it is impossible to know when Men are sincere: The *Broad-Bottoms*, on the contrary, would hear of no Delay; and their *Under-taker-General* debated the Matter so fiercely with the *younger*, that he who had talked up his Abilities so high, for the Sake of terrifying others, grew frightened.

frighted for himself; and rather chose to comply with his Demands, than remain any longer the *Butt* of his abusive Oratory; which, frivolous as it was, he could neither bear or repel.

But though the *B——rs* had not Courage enough to interpose themselves between the **** and this *Anti-Dimmock*, they had Artifice enough to take off the Edge of his Weapon, before they suffered him to strike a Blow. For they not *only* induced him to give *Leave* that his ***** should have 57,965 *L.* Dismission-Money, for the said Moiety of his Forces in *British* Pay, under the Pretence of defraying the Charge of their March home, but that the said Moiety, instead marching home, should pass into the Service of the Queen of *Hungary*, who was, moreover, complimented with an additional Subsidy of 200,000 *L.* for their Pay, till the Temper of the Times would permit their being replaced on the same Footing as before.

It was in this Manner the *Broad-Bottoms* justified all the Licence they had taken in treating of *H——r Jobbs*, and, in particular, of the Dangers and Distractions to be apprehended from the *H——r* Troops. But, not to lose Time in exposing so glaring an Affront to the common Sense of Mankind, and which no Language is strong enough to expose as it deserves, I shall now proceed to remind you of such other Measures as were the Growth of this Year, and which had as manifest a Tendency to ruin the War.

The Campaign of this Summer 1745. being the first in which his R—— H—— the D—— had the Command, it was natural to expect, as well because he was a favourite S——n, as because he was their own *Elect*, that they would either have furnished him with such *Assistance* and *Advices*,

as

as should have enabled him to make his first Effort with Honour to himself, and Advantage to the common Cause; or, at least, with such *Cautions* as should have secured him from any remarkable Repulse; and no doubt they would have observed this Direction, if the *Success* of the War had been their Object; but opposite Views requiring opposite Conduct, it appears, 1st, That no Thought was ever entertained of procuring an equal Body of Troops to replace the 8000 *Hanoverians* transferred to the *Austrian* Service: 2^{dly}, That, under the Notion of 80000 Men, they suffered him to take the Field with no more than 50000; that is to say, 20000 *English*, 8000 *Hanoverians*, and 22000 *Dutch*: 3^{dly}, That it was an avowed Article of their own Belief, that the *Hanoverians* could not fight, and of all the World's that the *Dutch* would not fight; whence it followed, that the supposed effective Part of this Army amounted to no more than 18,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, or thereabouts: 4^{thly}, That the *French*, which were rated here at 120,000, did really amount to 70,000, and were moreover entrenched up to the Teeth, under the Countenance of their Sovereign, and the Conduct of their ablest General: And, 5^{thly}, That though the Disparity was so notorious, instead of directing their young Hero to act on the *defensive*, which seemed to be the only sensible Part he could act, they, (the very Men who the Year before would not permit the allied Army, which was then as much superior to that of *France*, as that of *France* was to the allied Army, to make any Effort at all) directed the D— to attack the Enemy in their Lines.

On what Principle, therefore, can we account for such extravagant and inconsistent Conduct, but that which hath been already so often inculcated? (For
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tho' the raising the Siege of *Tournay* furnished the Pretence, no sufficient Reason could be assigned to justify that Pretence :) And yet such was the intrepid Behaviour, both of our National and Electoral Troops, that, notwithstanding all Disadvantages, they had like to have made a *capital Mistake*, and ruined the *French Army*, instead of ruining the War. Our Soldiers were in earnest, whatever our M——rs were: Fighting was their Business, Conquest their Purpose: And that they did not obtain it was far from being any Fault of theirs. They had driven the whole Force of the Enemy before them, and had only a small Reserve, much inferior to the 8000 *Hanoverians* who had been dismissed, to master: But this Reserve, small as it was, was more than sufficient to repel the feeble Attempts of Men wearied out with the Slaughter they had made, and oppressed with the Burden of so many Victories. In fine, the *Arts* of the Two B——rs, not the *Arms* of *France*, prevailed; and the Issue of the Day was altogether as fatal as the Efforts of it were glorious.

From the Time of the Battle of *Dettinghen*, till this fatal Period, *France* had proceeded in the most cautious Manner, as if more apprehensive of being subdued herself, than intent on subduing the Allies: But, having now obtained the Clue to our new Conduct (by what Means will probably, at one Time or another, be brought to Light) made such Dispositions to improve the Opportunities which daily arose in her Favour, that the War took a very different Bias from what it had hitherto done; and a continued Series of ill Success, on our Side, not only seemed to confirm all the Forebodings of the *Broad-Bottom* Faction, but to authorise the long-exploded Schemes of *Clifford*, *Rochester*, *Belingbroke*, and *Watpole*.

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The Loss of *Tournay* was the first Consequence of this rash Attack and hard-earned Victory: *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Dendermonde*, *Oudenarde*, *Aeth*, *Nieuport* and *Ostend*, followed in Train; and with these cruel Aggravations, that no less than 6000 Men were cut off, by our ill-concerted Project to save the first of those Places (which could not have been saved by less than a whole Army) and too Battalions of Guards in the last.

It is moreover observable, that one of these Battalions was transported from hence, tho' it was universally known the Place was *indefensible*; tho' his M***** had sent Advice from *H——r*, where he then was, that the young *Pretender* was embarked for *Scotland*; tho' not above 4000 effective Men were left in the Island; and tho' it was in a Manner impossible for the D——, posted, as he then was, behind the Canal of *Brussels*, to send a Man to our Assistance.

It would be held too invidious, perhaps, to charge the *B——rs* with fomenting the Rebellion, as well as ruining the War: But every Man must remember, that they *connived* at the very Growth of it, to a Degree that amazed all *Europe*; and that they were infinitely more attentive to their own Establishment in Power, than to the Security of the Nation, or the Maintenance of that Succession, upon which, under *God*, our civil and religious Liberties depend: The most early, the most zealous, and the most disinterested Offers of the most loyal and disinterested Men, to extinguish the Flame as soon as it broke out, or to hinder its spreading afterwards, were rejected; and, in diametrical Opposition to the late affected Creed of their *Broad-Bottom* Allies, they not only took Occasion to charge the *Whole* of *Scotland*, most unfairly and unjustly, with *Jacobitism*, because a

Part of the *Highlands* had rose in Arms for the *Pretender*, but used such suspicious Language, and took such diffident Measures, with regard to *England*, as if the same Spirit had the Predominance here, tho' every Day, and almost every Hour, furnished the most illustrious Proofs to the contrary.

This alone is sufficient to prove, that they *connived* at the Growth of the Rebellion: But, if there was Occasion, so many other Proofs might be collected as would render Doubt impossible. And to prove that, while this Vulture was thus suffered to prey on our very Heart-Strings, they were attentive only to their own Establishment, we need only open another Vein of their Conduct at that Time, which carries Demonstration along with it. They knew, for Instance, the **** could neither make any Alteration in his C—b—t, nor attempt to make any in the Complexion of P——. The young Pretender was become *returning Officer* for *Scotland*; and, while they held their Places, they were sure of acting in the same Capacity for *England*:—Thus the Crisis, which was so alarming both to P—— and People, was favourable to them, because the Interest they had to serve was *separate* from that of *either*: And such was the desperate Use they made of it, that his ***** found himself under a Necessity, either to take the Law from them, or to see the Way rendered smoother than ever from *Scotland* to *St. James's*.

Yes: Those, who, under the Pretence of a *C6-l-t—n*, had before obliged his ——— to receive a whole *Faction* into his Service, now insisted on his receiving ***, the *Orator* and *Stoick*, who had both stood in the Front, and brought up the Rear of that Faction, into his Cl—t, tho' he was the most disagreeable to him of all his Subjects, by conferring on him an Office which rendered his Attendance

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there indispensable: And, when his ***** , with the Spirit which became him, refused to submit to such an Indignity, they not only declared their Resentment, by resigning their Employments, but discovered the Malignity of their Purpose, by *articling* with every other Person, from the highest to the lowest, to do the same; to the End that the ****, finding himself universally deserted, the S-pp-s in Suspence, the moneyed Men alarmed, publick Credit shocked, and the whole Nation bewildered, might have no other Resort but to them, nor Alternative, but to submit to their good Will and Pleasure.

Posterity will scarce think it possible that such a *Mutiny* amongst the *Servants* of a great ****, (*Servants* that stood obliged to his Favour and Protection, not only for the very Importance they made Use of against him, but almost their very *Existence*) could be productive of any Thing but Disgrace and Ruin to themselves; will scarce believe the Information they receive, that, such was the Effect of their tr-t-r-s Artifices, that but one noble Lord, who had the Honour to hold an Employment under him, had the Courage to persist in holding it, till his R—l M—r required him to lay it down: And that, for this meritorious Refusal to countenance so wicked a *Combination*, he was turned out in the most imperious Manner, almost as soon as they were reinstated in their former Supremacy.

But, to resume the Course of our foreign Affairs, for the Sake of shewing, Step by Step, the Completion of the great m——l Design to ruin the War. The Death of the Emperor, and the Disposition which was soon manifested by the young *Electo*r, his Son, to emancipate himself out of the Hands of *France*, and to embrace the true Interests of the Empire, were Circumstances extremely favourable to

to the common Cause : But what Use soever was made of the former, by the indefatigable Care and superior Knowledge of his ———, the latter was overlooked ; tho' the Interest of that Prince in the Electoral College, the Situation of his Dominions, and the Troops he had to furnish, made it evident that he was no inconsiderable Acquisition. These Troops of his were in Number 12000 : How much we stood in need of them has already been made apparent : And yet, though offered, they were refused, under the same Pretences of *Oeconomy* which had been urged to defeat the Measures of the preceeding Year.

But the true Reason was this : P—— W—— of H—— had condescended to act the low Part of a T——l to the Cabal, by assisting to screen them from the Imputation of having rejected the Tr——y of H——n——u, and openly laying the Blame of the whole Miscarriage on the E—— of G—— : This was a seasonable Service ; the Obligation remained undischarged ; and it being impracticable, or said to be so, to retain both the *Bavarians* and *Hessians*, we chose to take 6000 of the latter into our Pay, though they had deserted us the Year before, preferable to 12000 of the former, together with the whole Interest of the Prince they belonged to.

From these, and the like Omissions, it followed of Course that the Allies were in no Condition to make Head against the victorious *French*, during the Residue of this Campaign, or the whole Winter following ; all which Time the Enemy continued to push the Advantage they had obtained, insomuch that in *January* even *Brussels* itself fell into their Hands, and the whole Garrison, which consisted of 10000 Men, were made Prisoners of War.

I am aware, that the Progress of the Rebellion, the Draughts we were obliged to make from *Flanders* for our own Defence, and the Ferment the Nation was in, will be urged in excuse of our Inattention, during this Period, to the Affairs of the Continent: And I should have been as ready as any Body to have admitted that Plea, if it were possible for me to forget in what Manner the Rebellion had been *nursed* up, or not to suppose, that the furnishing this *very Excuse* was *one* of the great Purposes which it was so *nursed* up to answer.

However this may be, it was the 14th of *April*, 1746. (on which very Day the Bill to enable G—E— of C—, and W—P—, Esq; to qualify in *England*, for the Office of Vice-Treasurer of *Ireland*, was returned to the C—s from the L—s) before the *Budget* was opened, and the Supplies voted for the War; and this Backwardness at Home could not fail to create a like Backwardness Abroad: It is true, the *Broad-Bottoms*, who had now answered all the Purposes of their Opposition, and had no farther Practices to try upon the People, condescended to drop the Mask, to receive the whole 16000 *Hanoverians* into *British* Pay, and even to augment them with 2000 more: But then the seeming Vigour of the Measure was defeated by the ill-timing of it: It was the Middle of *June* before this Body of 10000 (that is to say, of the 8000 transferred to the Q. of *Hungary*, and the additional 2000) could come up: It was the Middle of *July* before the 10000 *Austrians*, under Count *Palfy*, could do the same: Both were Effects of the same Cause: The Queen of *Hu—ry* could never recruit her Forces Time enough to render them complete against the ensuing Campaign, unless favoured with a very early Advance of her Subsidies; which was

a Fact that the *B——rs* were no Strangers to: And hence it unavoidably followed, that, till the Beginning of *August*, the Allies could bring no Army into the Field that was fit for *P—C—s* of *L—n* to command, or to endure the Sight of the Enemy.

On the other Hand, the most *Christian King* had taken the Field on the 24th of *April*; had, in the Course of the Summer, reduced *Antwerp*, *Mons*, *St. Guilain*, and *Charleroy*; and, discovering no Danger of any *material* Opposition, had ventured to sit down before *Namur*.

The Siege of that important Place had been carried on, as usual, by one Army under the Protection of another; and this was the only Crisis when *P—C—* had any Chance of attacking them with any Prospect of Advantage: But, while he still waited for the Reinforcements he expected, and particularly the *Bavarians*, who, by this Time, were received into the Number of our Dependents, if not of our Allies, his most *Christian Majesty* carried both the Town and Citadel; and, having rejoined his two Armies, fell upon the Confederates at *Racoux*, and, by the Dint of superior Numbers, defeated them.

I am now come, in the natural Course of Things, to the Year 1747. But, as our Conduct during that Year seemed to have taken a different Turn, and actually did wear a different Aspect, it will be necessary to account for that seeming Alteration, by the previous Mention of such Circumstances as gave Rise to it.

In the *first* Place, then, the **** growing weary of struggling any longer with a Power, which, in so many notorious Instances, he had found superior to his own, came to a Resolution to give the *B——rs* such Assurances as might serve to remove the Ap-
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preceptions they had entertained of a *Back-Stair* Favourite: And they, on the other Hand, who found it as *convenient* to have him for their *Ally*, whom they had refused to follow as a *Master*, by way of Acknowledgment, not only agreed to take 4000 more of his E——l Troops into the Pay of G——B——, but prevailed with their *Broad-Bottom* Allies to do the same: For those Gentlemen were such thorough Politicians, that they could sail with every Wind: It was for the Sake of *Places* they had raised the Cry of *No Hanoverians!* And it was for the *same Consideration* that they were now for entertaining the whole Force of the E———e.

But the **** was not the only Person considered in the *Turn* we are now discoursing of. The Laurels which the D——— had gathered at *Cull-d-n* were yet green; his Popularity was at the Full; and the additional Provision made for him by the P———t, had, in some Measure, set him free from the Leading-Strings of the two B———rs: As he was become of more Consequence than they ever designed he should be, so he was also become more sensible of it, and more resolute to derive all possible Advantages from it: They had made him a Soldier; he was fond of the Character; and he longed for nothing so much as to confirm the Glory he had acquired in *Scotland*, by some signal Exploit in *Flanders*: In Compliment to him, therefore, they not only were obliged to proceed with the War, but with more seeming Vigour than ever: For he had now acquired some Experience; the People had not only Prepossessions in his Favour, but were now more exasperated than ever against *France*; and it surpassed their Art to send him upon such another *childish* Errand as he had been sent upon in the Year 1745.

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Thus he who was at first made use of as an Instrument to drive on a Peace, became as considerable an Instrument to drive on the War; and, what greatly increased their Perplexity on this Account, many of their *Broad-Bottom* Allies, partly to palliate their Conduct with Relation to the *Hanover* Troops, and partly to make their Court, openly renounced their late pacifick System, and distinguished themselves, in both H—s, by Speeches and Motions in favour of the War: Nay, the very Men who, in the Course of their Opposition, had made themselves so merry with the Words *take and hold*, now adopted the Sentiments they were intended to inforce, and would be satisfied with nothing less than a War of *Acquisition*.

Nor did even this contain the whole of the *B—rs* Uneasiness at this Crisis: In the Division of Power which had followed the *Broad-Bottom* Treaty, they had been forced to part with the Marine to their Allies; but then they flattered themselves, that, in putting the Direction of it in the Hands of a certain great D——, who was so far from having any Experience in naval Affairs, that he had no Experience in any Affairs but *his own*, and who was abundantly more eminent for the Largeness of his Possessions, than the Brightness of his Parts, they should still maintain such an Ascendency at that Board, as might enable them to give what Bias to the Machine they pleased: But in this they were most grievously disappointed: For his Ambition was to be thought a Man of Business; and at once to convince the World of his Abilities, and them of his Independency, he took the whole Direction so absolutely upon himself, that he would not suffer them to interfere in the smallest Branch of it; nor even to make a Lieutenant, without a Permit from him:

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They might recommend, if they pleased; but he was not always in a Humour to grant: If they were importunate, he was sure to deny; and, what was more provoking than all, (because it seemed to trench on the M——l Prerogative, which they looked upon to be their *peculiar*) tho' he made no Difficulty of giving a Repulse himself, he would bruik none from any Body else.

Besides, what served to render him yet more unwieldy and untractable, as many of the *Broad-Bottoms* as preserved any Connection with each other, affected to consider and follow him as a Sort of Chief; and, what compleated both his Establishment and his Authority, all the Successes of the War arose in his Province.

Our Fleets had, indeed, been superior to those of the Enemy from the Beginning; and, notwithstanding all Miscarriages and Misfortunes, had considerably impaired their Strength, and reduced their Commerce: But then our M——rs had hitherto thought it their Duty to confine their Projects, as close as possible, within the Bounds prescribed by P——: Whereas, when this great Dictator came to the Head of the B——d, he made no Difficulty to rush into such Expences as exceeded the Grants annually made for that Service, to the Amount of a Million and an Half; and to the Amount of a Million more than what his Predecessors had dared to demand, notwithstanding the outrageous Abuse they had incurred on that Head: And yet, that these extraordinary Expences (which has brought so immense a Debt on the Nation) produced any extraordinary Effect, was more owing to good Fortune than the Prudence or Foresight of those who had the Boldness to incur it. It is true, that two of their Squadrons did fall in with two of the Enemies, and were victorious; but
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how truly those Actions may be called *Rencontres*, and how much we stood obliged to our Superiority in point of Strength, it would, perhaps, be thought too invidious to explain. Then, as to the Affair of *Cape-Breton*, which was an Acquisition of such Moment, that it may be truly called the *Price* of the *Peace*, the chief Merit of it belongs to the People of *New-England*, and the neighbouring Colonies, who formed the Design, made the Preparations, and had the Happiness and Honour of carrying it into Execution.

As, however, these lucky Incidents happened under the Ad——n of his G——, he was for centering all the Importance and all the Glory of them in himself; not indeed upon the old, sound and acknowledged Maxim, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*; but upon a new one of his own, *Quod factum est per alium, factum est per me*; which, as Nine in Ten do not perhaps understand *Latin*, served to countenance his Pretensions, so far, at least, as answered his Purpose: And therefore we are not to wonder, that, when Sir *William Pepperel* had conquered *Cape-Breton*, it was asserted the D—— of —— had conquered it; nor that this Conqueror, like all other Conquerors, would not hear a Word of restoring the Acquisition he had made; but, on the first Whisper of such a Purpose, instead of the sneaking Language of a *Broad-Bottom* Leader, who was for hanging all those who durst entertain a Thought of taking or holding from the Enemy, pronounced, in the Stile of an *Alexander* or a *Cesar*, *That if the French were Masters of Portsmouth, he would hang the Man who would give up Cape-Breton in Exchange for it.* p. l. l.

Men that are necessary to us are to be treated as they think of themselves, not as the World thinks of
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of them: The *B—rs* therefore were not only forced to admit the high Pretensions of his *G—*, but to bear with the rough and *ominous* Language he had used, (which they knew was a Menace that regarded them *only*, because they were the *only* two Persons in *England*, who, at *that Time*, entertained a Thought of so fatal a Concession, under any Extremity whatsoever) and even to humour him occasionally, when he quitted what was now become his *own Element*, and took upon him to *dictate* elsewhere.

The very Hint which had escaped from the *B—rs*, That *Cape-Breton* would serve to purchase a Peace in all Events, had convinced his *G—*, how vain a Thing it was to place our *whole Dependence* on the Success of a Sea War: To be Masters of the Sea, as we now absolutely were, and to be in a Condition to make new Acquisitions, without a Possibility of maintaining them, which was what had been suggested, was a Reflection that he could not bear: In hope therefore to secure what we had got, as also for the Sake of making new Acquisitions, he became all at once a most vehement Advocate for pushing the War with equal Vigour, both by Sea and Land; both in *Europe* and *America*: Want of Money, which cost him nothing but the asking, or rather ordering, was the least of his Consideration: And no Arguments, or the Intreaties of the *B—rs*, could either convince him of the Impracticability of his Notions, or prevail with him to relinquish them.

It followed, that the Shock of two such opposite Principles had like to have been fatal to the Coalition: *Obstinacy* was the principal Ingredient of his *G—*'s Composition, as *Cunning* was in theirs: And they could not be more *afraid* of *Ruin*, than he was *fond* of being the *foremost* Figure on the Stage.

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At length, however, the *B——rs* luckily bethought themselves; that the most effectual Way to obviate the Violence of a Torrent which they could not withstand, would be; to yield for a While to its Impetuosity, and, by so doing, to have it in their Power to give it such a Direction, as, instead of bearing them down, should assist them to bear down such other Obstacles as incumbered their Way.

Accordingly, after an infinite Number of Squabbles, they gave way to a Project of his *G——s*, to reduce *Quebec*, and all the other Colonies held by the *French* in *America*; by the Assistance of *our own*; which were called upon to co-operate in it; and actually did make such Preparations for it, as had like to have proved almost ruinous to themselves: The more Money was expended; and the more Troops were employed in this Expedition, the less of either they knew would remain for the Continent-Service: So that thus far his *G——s* Project coincided perfectly with their own: And, when they had carried on the Farce as far as they thought proper; they were sufficiently Masters of the *Old Trick*, to delay; to procrastinate; to send Orders for Marches and Counter-Marches, Embarkations and Debarkations; till it was too late to make any other Use of the vast Expenditure incurred upon this Occasion, but to render us the Derision of *Europe*; first, By our Preparations for an Attempt that we did not make; and then for making such an Attempt (that of *Britany*) as we ought to be for ever ashamed of.

I do not call this a Digression, because it contains a new Proof, that the only Point the two *B——rs* had at Heart, was the Ruin of the War: But, as I suggested above, whatever their Inclinations or Purposes were, the breaking out of this new Spirit in the *C——b——t*; the additional Importance which his

R— H— the D— had acquired; and the Expediency of putting on a fighting *Face*, by Way of making their Court to his ———, did prevail with them to entertain a much greater Army for the Service of the Year 1747. than they had ever entertained before: And either because it suited *better* with the *former* Character and Conduct of the E—— of S—— than that of any *other* Man, to be the first Instrument in the Concert, by which a *Land War* was to be carried on with *greater Vigour* than ever, and when the *greatest* Number of *Hanoverian* Troops were to be taken into *British* Pay, or because he should have an Opportunity to try his *Talent* at *Negotiation*, the Convention with the Allies, for that Year, was referred to him.

By this Convention *Great-Britain* was to furnish 40,000 Men; the *States-General* 40,000, and the *Empress-Queen*, 60,000; in all 140,000: These were to be exclusive of Garrisons: Her *Imperial Majesty*, moreover, obliged herself to keep no less than 10,000 Men in *Luxemburg*; and, over and above all this, it was not only stipulated, that there should be a Junction of 60,000 *Austrians*, and 30,000 *Piedmontese*, in order to make a Diversion in *Provence*, but that 15,000 should be posted near the *Panaro*, by way of Check on the King of *Naples*.

Of the Expediency of the last of these Articles I shall not stay to make any Remark; but of the *Indiscretion* shewn in making it at an *avowed* Part of of the Convention, I cannot be wholly silent. His *Catholick Majesty*, in Resentment of the repeated Neglects which had been thrown upon *Spain*, by the *French* Ministers, in the Course of the War, had not only manifested a Disposition to repay those Neglects in Kind, but had actually made several *Overtures* to us, which had been listened to with an affected

affected Cordiality, though never embraced: But this Measure seemed to indicate, that those Overtures would not be embraced at all; and that they had been listened to rather as Matter of Amusement, than the Basis of an Accommodation. Princes have their Prejudices and Resentments as well as private Men: And, if it should appear that this indirect Behaviour created that *ill Humour* which has since thwarted our *commercial* Interests, and the *Freedom of Navigation*, which, both by *natural Justice*, and the *Letter* of former Treaties, we were intitled to, who ought to be answerable for it, but the young, forward, rash *Novice* who was intrusted with the making this Contract, and the *B——rs* from whom he received his Instructions?

But to return. When this Convention was laid before the *H——* of ——, it soon appeared, that they were abundantly more disposed to provide for the Expence of it, than to censure any Part of it: And indeed so artful was the Language made use of by the *younger B——r*, who was Lord of the Ascendant there, concerning it, that they could scarce do otherways; for such as were zealous for the Prosecution of the War, he amused with an Account of the prodigious Preparations making for that End; and to such as were impatient for a Peace, he pledged his own Honour, and the Reputation of his *B——r's* Abilities, (who was to be the *Undertaker-General* in that Province) as a sufficient Security that they would soon be gratified to the Height of their Expectations.

The *P——m-Dialect*, it ought not to be forgot, has been sneered at by *certain Persons*, as an equal Mixture of the *Perplexed* and the *Unmeaning*; and yet so persuasive did it prove to some, so forcible to others, and so convincing to all, that, on the 27th of *January*,
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the Supplies, exorbitant as they were, were granted without any Difficulty ; and the Issues of War and Peace were once more left under the Direction of the two *Heads* of that illustrious Family.

And now it might be supposed, that, having undertaken so boldly for the Service of the Year, having been furnished so early with all they asked for the Accomplishment of their own Measures, and having provided a Force *superior* to that of the Enemy for the Operations of the Field, it would no longer be in their *own Power* to prosecute their grand Purpose of *ruining the War* : But to Men of Genius and Resolution, like them, nothing is impossible : This the Discomfiture of the *Quebec Expedition* hath already in Part demonstrated ; and what remains to be told, I flatter myself, will render that Demonstration complete.

But, first, I must justify what I have advanced above, That the Force they had provided, by the Convention, was superior to that of *France* ; which may seem a little difficult to those who recollect that it consisted but of 140,000 Men, whereas that of *France* was to consist of 160,000 : I am not, however, unfurnished with sufficient Authorities to remove this Difficulty ; and of these I shall not fail to make the most fair and honest Use.

Be pleased then to know, 1st, That the Army under Marshal *Saxe* was composed of 75,440 Foot, and 25,300 Horse, and no more ; that is to say, 126 Battalions of Regulars, and 12 of Militia, (which, at 500 to a Battalion, amounted to 69,000) 6440 *Grassins*, *Compagnies franches*, &c. and 253 Squadrons at 100 to the Squadron : In all, 100,740. And, 2^{dly}, That the separate Army under the *Comte de Clermont* was composed of 19 Battalions, and 31 Squadrons ; in all, 12,600 : So that the whole Force of *France*, on the Side of *Flanders*, consisted of no more than

113,340 Men, which fell short of the Numbers, provided by the Convention, 26,660 : And even, to swell it up to this Bulk, they (the *French*) were forced to draw all the Troops they could spare from the *Rhine* and the three Bishopricks, and, in a Manner, to drain their Garrisons ; which they ventured to do, on a Presumption that their Army would be able to cover them.

I am aware it will be urged, that Abatements ought to be made on the Part of the Allies, as well as on the Part of *France* : But, when these Abatements come to be handled, it will appear that they deserve to be ranked amongst the most considerable of those Artifices made Use of by the two *B—rs* to ruin the War, which I now proceed to particularise.

That I repeat the Nomination of the *D—* to the chief Command, is Matter of extreme Regret to me : But Truth compels me to insist on what I should otherways have been glad to omit : Perhaps the Victory he had obtained over the Rebels, had rather inflamed his Ardour than matured his Judgment : And the Experience of the General, who was next in Subordination to him, was no Match for the Superiority which he derived from his high Birth and Quality.

In the second Place, as, in the preceeding Campaign, the Allies had suffered so prodigiously by their not being in a Condition to take the Field till the Campaign was almost over, and every Corner of the Kingdom had rung with the Clamours it occasioned, it was now resolved, under the plausible Pretences of preventing the like Clamours, and of giving such Proofs of Zeal and Vigour as should deserve the Admiration of *Europe*, to *reverse* that Conduct, and to take the Field before it was possible for the Business of the Campaign to begin : Thus, tho' the Means

Means were different, the End was the same: The Soldiers had now as much to apprehend from the Rigour of the Season, as before from the Enemy: And, as if the Name of an Army was all that was wanting to recover our Credit, retrieve our Losses, and repel the Enemy, as little was Care taken to subsist as to employ them. In short, the establishing Magazines was one of the last Things attended to, which ought to have been one of the first; and, when they were established, they were so ill served, that they rather served to mock the Necessities of the Soldier than to supply them.

The Effects of this wild Conduct I shall discourse of more at large in the Sequel; and, as a farther Exemplification of the notable Skill and Address of the two *B—rs*, I am, in the mean While, to discourse of those *Abatements* as to Number, on the Side of the Allies, which had so manifest a Tendency to the Ruin of the War.

The *M—s* of the Empress Queen, as I have already suggested, had, over and over again, informed our *C—t*, that, if a good Part of the Subsidy was not paid in *December*, it would be impossible for them to fulfil the Engagements they might be obliged to make. The Reason of this was manifest: They were under a Necessity to recruit in the *Imperial* Towns, the hereditary Countries being too remote from the Scene of Action: In the Winter these Towns swarmed with Handycraftsmen and Labourers, who were glad to follow the Drum for Want of Employment: And, unless they were inlisted then, it was impossible they should be armed, clothed and disciplined, so as to be fit for Service in *March*: These Reasons had been always in Force: But now they were abundantly more forcible than ever: The Losses of the last Year had fallen so heavy,

vy, that they were scarce supportable: It was out of her I—M—'s Power to supply those Losses, except by the Subsidies she was to be furnished with from hence: And therefore it was that she had been uncommonly urgent to carry that Point now, which she had never been able to carry before. But the Incompetency of her Troops was the very Sheet-Anchor of the two *B-rs*: It served to make the Court of *V-a* accountable for every Miscarriage, and every Misfortune; and, for that Reason, they were not only resolved to leave that Door open against her, as it had hitherto been, but even to derive to themselves some Degree of Credit, amongst the Ignorant at least, from an affected Endeavour to shut it. What I refer to is, 1st. that *fraudulent* Article in the Convention, by which it is provided, that 100,000 *L.* should be detained to answer such Deficiencies as should be found in her Musters: And, 2^{dly}. the Method they took to render them deficient, by withholding the greatest Part of those Sums, which were intended for the Levy-Money, till *April*; whereas, according to the Obligation of the Treaty, her Forces should have been in the Field in *March*.

Thus, after the Nation had been induced to grant such immense Sums, under a Persuasion of meeting the common Enemy upon equal Terms, and after having been amused with this solemn Proviso to render the Service effectual, it appears the very Foundation was purposely undermined on which their Hopes were built; and that, when the Train was fired, nothing but Ruin could follow.

Our wild Conduct before spoken of, and the Effects of it in the Field, come next under Consideration; and, if I barely glance at the several Particulars, it will, I think, be sufficient to prove all that hath been already asserted: For so early as *February*

our Troops were put in Motion ; towards the latter End of *March* they took the Field in three several Bodies ; and, having so done, they rested upon their Arms for six Weeks together, without making any Attempt of any Kind, to excuse this otherways inexcusable Bravado, tho' they had no Enemy to oppose them. For all this While Marshal *Saxe* continued his Forces in their Cantonments, and thereby manifested as much Regard and Tenderneſs for thoſe under his Command, as Contempt for his Enemies : Through the whole Courſe of the War he had, indeed, conducted himſelf with the ſame Air of Superiority ; and upon this Occaſion he was known to ſay, *That when the — had ſufficiently weakned his Army, he would convince him, that the firſt Duty of a General was to provide for its Preſervation.*

But if the Vanity of taking the Field, only to make War againſt the Elements, or the Folly of doing ſo, without any Project of Enterprize againſt the Enemy, appears thus inexcusable, What ſhall we ſay to our remaining in a State of Inaſtivity, while M. *Lowendahl*, with twenty-three Battalions and five Squadrons, and M. *de Contade*, with as many more of each, left their Cantonments, and, in the Space of a Month, made that ſurpriſing Conqueſt of *Dutch Flanders* ? What muſt we think when we recollect that the Commander in Chief was poſted ſo near the Theatre of Action, that he heard almoſt every Gun that was fired, and that the *Auſtrians* were no farther off than the *Meuſe* ? And what Concluſion muſt we make, when it appears, upon the whole Matter, that, inſtead of being thus early in Readineſs to act offeſſively againſt the Enemy, we ſuffered the Enemy to act offeſſively againſt us, without endeavouring to create a Diverſion, by advancing towards *Saxe*, enſeebled as his Army then

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was by the Detachments he had made, or any other ways interposing, except by the feeble and vain Assistance of nine Battalions sent to *Hulst*? I say, what must our Conclusion on the whole Matter be, but that all we did, and all we left undone, was owing to the same leading Principles, which had operated invariably, though imperceptibly, to the Ruin of the War?

At last, however, (on the 1st of May, N. S.) the Allies began to bestir themselves; and talked of nothing less than the reducing *Antwerp*: But then this notable Project was not entertained till *Lowendahl* had not only finished his Business in *Dutch Flanders*, but also had been allowed Time and Leisure enough to strengthen the Outworks, which had lien all this While so totally in Ruins, that they had even no Communication with the Body of the Place.

That, however, it was entertained so late, is not so much to be wondered at, as that it was entertained at all. A Town they could not invest they could scarce hope to carry: But *Antwerp* was, besides, under the Cover of the whole *French Army*. And out of this very Circumstance arises a Question or two, which, I am of Opinion, cannot be easily answered, namely, If our Army was inferior to the *French*, as in *England* it was the Fashion to assert, how came we to think of attempting *Antwerp*, so fortified and protected as hath been hitherto described? If superior, as according to the *Convention* it ought to have been, how can we account for its lying idle six Weeks before, and two Months afterwards? And how, in either Case, can we help recurring to the old Principle, and its invariable Tendency to the Ruin of the War?

Foreigners, who can talk with more Freedom on certain Subjects than it becomes us to do, have been

very severe in their Censures on this Occasion; and much severer still in discoursing of the unfortunate Action of *Laffeldt*, in which we both suffered ourselves to be surprised, and exposed the *British* and *Electoral* Troops to bear, *singly*, the whole Brunt of that bloody Day.

But, if it does not become us to adopt, or even to repeat those Severities, we may at least be allowed to ask, Why the allied Army was *at all* exposed to the Hazard of an Action during this Campaign? The Revolution in *Holland* had already *begun* to take Effect: And certainly it seemed agreeable to Prudence, to put nothing to the Hazard till that was rendered *complete*.—The *B——rs* very well knew, that it was the *earnest Intreaty* and Advice of the *P——* of *O——*, communicated by *M. de Grovestein*, his Master of the Horse, to his *R—— H——* the *D——*, to confine his Measures to the single View of covering *Maestricht* and *Bergen-op-Zoom*, till he had established his Interest in the Provinces, and to risque nothing while an Event of so much Importance to the common Cause was still *depending*.—And as to the Reason why his Instances were rejected, it is wholly needless to explain it: *Stultum est mortale lumen in Solem inferre*.

Thus the great Work of *countermining* the vigorous Measures of this Year, which the *B——rs* themselves had been forced to countenance, and which could not have failed, but by the Methods and under the Direction already specified, was accomplished, but not without some Difficulty; for the Empress Queen, notwithstanding the ill-timed Payment of her Subsidies, was so sensible of the Necessity of making an extraordinary Effort this Year, that she exerted herself in a Manner as extraordinary; and not only brought her Contingent more early into the

the Field, but more complete than the *B——rs* imagined it had been in her Power to have done. However, by the Loss of this Battle, *their* Efforts got the better of *her's*; and the Reduction of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, which every Body remembers with what *Impatience* they expected, finished the Operation of the Campaign, in a Manner perfectly agreeable to their Plan, and the great Object of it, the Ruin of the War.

But tho' I have brought the Campaign to an Issue, I have not brought forward all the Evidence it produced: For, in order to be *consistent* in the whole of their Proceedings, that is to say, that no Means to exhaust the Nation might be left untried, and that all the Fruit of those Means might be blasted, the 4000 *additional Hanoverians* were not taken into our Pay till *July*, when they knew it was impossible that they should reach the *Low-Countries* till the Business of the Campaign was over.

But, if they were equally blameable for taking these Troops into our Pay when they could not be of Use, and, if these Troops were necessary, for not taking them into Pay the Winter before, when they might have been had with as little Trouble, How much more so will they appear through the whole Course of their Negotiations with the Court of *Russia*, which it is now Time to explain?

The Object of these Negotiations, as all know, was the Hire of such a Body of Troops, as, by transferring the Superiority to the Allies, should enable them, not only to repel the Power of *France*, but to overwhelm it. This was a Measure which the *E——* of *G——* had some Years before recommended, and which, for that Reason, the *B——rs* had then rejected. When, however, it became expedient for themselves to adopt it, or rather to make a

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Shew of adopting it, (for it will be made evident enough that they never intended to reflect any Lustre upon *him*, by suffering the Nation to derive any Benefit from it) they called upon the *States-General* to take their Share both of the Engagement and the Expence: They (the *States*) demurred, as it was reasonable to think at that Time they would. We had our Scruples as well as they; and, in Proposals, Answers, Replies, and Rejoinders, the whole preceeding Winter (of 1746. that is to say) was lost. In short, it was not till *June* that the Affair was brought to any Decision, when a Treaty was concluded, by which it was provided, that, for the Sum of 100,000 *L.* the *Czarina* should hold 30,000 Men, and 40 or 50 Gallies, in Readiness to be employed in the Service of the Allies upon the first Requisition: And to this Treaty the *States* acceded on the 11th of *July* following, on the Condition of paying one fourth Part of the said Sum, agreeable to a Resolution which they had taken the 9th of *January* before.

Thus it appears, that every Measure we took, was taken at such a Time, and in such a Manner, as, on the one Hand, served to continue the *Amusement*; and, on the other, to defeat the *Service*: And, if there is any Person foolish or hardy enough to assert or believe, that the *B—rs*, who had the supreme Direction, did make the *best* Use of their Judgment in all; that they were *sincere* in their Professions to carry on the War with the utmost Vigour, and that they suffered this Negotiation to hang thus long in Suspence, *merely* on a Principle of *Oeconomy*, and for the Sake of saving the Nation from the *whole* Burden of it, in case the *States* should refuse to ratify their own Resolution, May it not be asked, how it was possible for Men, who had the com-

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mon Interest so much at Heart as they pretended, to hesitate so long on a Matter so essential to the common Cause, for the Sake of so inconsiderable a Sum as 25000 *L*? How is it to be accounted for, that all the Proofs which can be found of their *Thrift* should be found on such critical and important Occasions as these? And that, upon any other Occasion, they should make no Difficulty to *job away* Half a Million among *Brokers* and *Usurers*, in Defiance, not only of repeated Notices and Warnings, but actual *Endeavours* to prevent it? And, finally, how they came to get the better of their own Diffidence, and Frugality *at last*, and to *leave* themselves at the *Mercy* of the *States*, by signing the Treaty *without* their Participation?

But that this Measure was indeed calculated to be a Measure of Amusement, not of Service, becomes self-evident from this farther Consideration, *viz.* That, even *after* the Accession of the *States*, no Requisition was made of these Troops, nor any Conditions settled for their being actually employed, till the 19th of *November* 1747. which is so much the more extraordinary and remarkable, because Count *Ben- tinck* was sent by the P— of O— to press that Measure so early as the first Week in *September*.

Thus it was contrived, that this magnificent *retaining* Fee of 100,000 *L.* should produce no more favourable Consequence, during that Year, to those who gave it: And it is easy to prove, that all imaginable Care was taken, through the whole Course of the Proceeding with regard to the next, to render it as burdensom as possible on the one Hand, and as little useful as possible on the other.

Thus, for Instance, instead of making Use of the Gallies, which had been kept in Readiness, at our Ex-

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of which the Troops might have been transported, before the Summer was over, to *Lubeck*, or some other Port in the *Baltick*, from whence they would have had little farther to march than the Troops of *Hanover*, and consequently might have reached the allied Army by the latter End of the very Campaign we have been treating of) they gave over all Thoughts of transporting them by Sea, and preferred an almost immensurable March over Land, at the Expence of no less than 6 or 700,000 *L.* according to their own Computation: A March that could not be overtaken till *January* or *February* 1748. a March that no Body could be sure would be performed without Interruption, and not to be performed at all in less than five Months: Whence it was apparent, that, unless accompanied by the Weather of the *Pole* all the Way, and drawn by Rain-Deer, they could not join the Allies till the latter End of *June*, or Beginning of *July*: And the *B——rs* well knew, that, as we were always *weakest*, and the *French* *strongest*, at the Opening of the Campaign, whatever was to be apprehended, from their *Superiority*, that Year, would be effected *before* they arrived.

I might farther enforce all I have said, by entering into a Discussion of the Treaty itself, and the many lavish Articles it contains; such as the Subsidy, over and above the 300,000 *L.* to be annually paid; the Article for Provisions, Quarters, Hospitals, Loss of Horses upon the March, Ransom of all Prisoners, and a Thousand other *Douceurs*; the Proviso's that they should not be dismissed under four Months Notice, and that they should not be sent back but in a convenient Season, with an express *Exception* to the Months of *October*, *November*, *December*, *January* and *February*, tho' the two last Months were judged the most proper for their marching

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ing to our Assistance; I might, I say, proceed to aggravate my Charge on every one of these Heads: But, as the subsequent Behaviour of the Court of *Russia* has been truly generous and great, in performing more than they had engaged for, and being contented with less than they might have claimed; and as the Measure itself, if conducted as it ought to have been, would have more than balanced the Expence of it, I shall only observe in general, That the *B——rs*, through the whole Course of the Negotiation, manifested as much *Incapacity* as *Disinclination* to the Cause they pretended to serve.

The Court of *Russia* was already under the Obligation of very close Engagements, both to the Courts of *London* and *Vienna*; to the former by the Treaty of 1742. to the latter by that of 1746. and, what perhaps would have weighed more with any Court, had an *Interest* of *her own* to serve, by enabling the Allies to continue the War, till they might have it in their Power to prescribe the Peace.

These were surely Considerations which might have been reasonably and successfully urged in Mitigation of the hard Conditions of this Bargain; and, if the Bargain had past thro' any Hands but those of the two *B——rs*, or even if they had not predetermined that the exhausting their own Country was the only Way to ruin the War, those Conditions would surely have been mitigated accordingly.

But there is still an Article in this Treaty which I cannot pass over without bestowing upon it a more particular Animadversion; I mean the 16th, by which it is provided, That, in case *Holland* should fail in her Part of the Engagement, *England* should fulfil the *Whole*; and which therefore serves to shew, that the Pretences of Oeconomy, formerly urged in
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the C—b—t, by the two B——rs, against this Measure when it was originally proposed by the E— of G—, and while they suffered so much Time to be lost in waiting for the Resolution of the *States* upon it, were alike false and frivolous: For they not only admitted, as we have seen, every Circumstance of Expence on the highest Footing, but made their own Country liable to the *Whole*, at a Crisis when it was more than probable that the *Whole* would have fallen upon it, and when that Pretence might have been urged with more Reason than ever, as well because of our own *exhausted Condition*, as because the State of the War was become more desperate than ever.

But the more lamely, the more prodigally, the more ruinously the publick Business was prosecuted, the more securely and effectually the B——rs prosecuted *their own*. Thus, at the End of the Campaign (of 47.) there remained not one single Town of the *Austrian Netherlands* unreduced, and only *Maestricht* to cover the interior Barrier of *Holland*. On the Side of *Dutch Flanders* all was lost likewise; and that *Bergen-op-Zoom*, the Maiden-Fortress, which had never till then been violated, was in the Hands of *France*, has already been specified. One would have thought, therefore, that, as both the Enemy and their Commanders were sated with Success, and had made the *first Advances* towards an Accommodation, the B——rs would have *relented* too, and *excused* their Country from any *farther* Expence, and any *farther* Ignominy.

But their System, it seems, was not as yet compleat. To blast the Measures of their Rival effectually, it was necessary that the Peace should be *ruinous* like the War; and, as the *French* were as yet *too moderate* in their Demands, it was their Purpose to proceed

ceed in the same Track, till *new Advantages* on the Side of *France* should authorise her to exact *new Concessions* from the Allies.

To render this almost incredible Fact so much the plainer, it is necessary to observe, that, from the Time the Grand Duke had been elected Emperor, and the King of *Prussia* had confirmed himself in the Possession of *Silesia*, by the hasty Peace which he had obliged the Queen of *Hungary* and the Elector of *Saxony* to accept of after the Battle of *Dresden*, *France* found herself so equally gratified on the one Hand, and disappointed on the other, that she became desirous of a Peace. The Imperial Throne being filled, there was no Room for any farther Practice to divide and distract the Empire; and the rendering *Silesia* from the *Austrian* Inheritance, and transferring it to his *Prussian* Majesty, had not only aggrandised the latter, at the Expence of the former, but rendered it in a Manner impossible that these two great Powers should ever embrace the same Party, and pursue the same Purposes, for an Age or two to come: For these Considerations, therefore, and for others yet more cogent, such as the ruined State of her Commerce, Navigation and Naval Strength, the Distress and Danger of her Colonies, the Wants and Miseries which began to rage in her own Bowels, &c. she consented to open Conferences at *Breda*; and, at any one Period in that Time, would have sheathed the Sword on these short Principles, Nothing for herself, and very little for her Allies.

That, in the very Hour of Victory, his most *Christian* Majesty himself had discovered a passionate Inclination for Peace to *G—l—L—r*, when brought before him as a Prisoner after the Battle of *Laffeldt*;

that the said G———l was very soon after dismissed on his Parole, to communicate certain formal Propositions on that Head; that those Propositions were rejected; that *Spain* was at the same Time so impoverished by the Captures we had made, the Expences of the War, and the detaining her Treasures in the *Indies*, that she also discovered the same Inclination; and that, on the Death of the late King, which was followed by some Alterations in her Councils, she actually did make Offers of the like Tendency, (in the Month of *September* 1746. to the Marquis de *Tabernega*, then in *Portugal*, that is to say) has been already acknowledged in *Print*.

If therefore the B——rs had been really of that Opinion, which, for the Sake of their own pernicious Purposes, they had perpetually inculcated, namely, That it was utterly impracticable to carry on the War with any Prospect of Success; or if, according to the scandalous Declaration they afterwards made, their only Aim had been to procure a Peace at any Rate, How is it possible to excuse or palliate the Rejection of these Offers, or to make their Words and Actions correspond with each other? More particularly when we farther recollect, that, till these Offers were made, they had discoursed of an Accommodation with *Spain* as the most favourable Event which could befall us; as an Event which would have reconciled all Parties to a vigorous Prosecution of the War with *France*, and which would have induced them to part with the last Shilling in Support of it.

But the Truth of the Matter is, that, mutable and inconsistent as they appeared, they adhered in the main to the grand Principles of their Plan, and the Ends it was to answer: For the *spring* our Fall had proved, after so violent and ill-directed a Carreer, the
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less obnoxious would that M——r have been held, who *first* put us in Motion.

It was nevertheless necessary to find out some Colour to set on this Inconsistency and Mutability, which was so glaring, that the Publick began not only to take Notice of it, but even to clamour against it; and the *Blind* they chose to spread, for this righteous Purpose, was a *pretended Difference* of Opinion as to the great Pursuits of War and Peace; and a *pretended Quarrel*, which was said to have grown out of his Difference of Opinion, and the Debates it had given Rise to.

Few Expedients answer in all Respects; but this was of the happiest Kind, and was managed in the happiest Manner: For, while the Two B——rs continued to act these *opposite Parts*, the *Farce* not only served to amuse the World in general, but every Individual, of what Principle soever, knew where to find a Leader: Hence it followed, that those of the most *sanguine* and *enterprising* Turn attached themselves to the *elder*; the *timorous* and *desponding* to the *younger*; and each were, from Time to Time, furnished with such Professions and Assurances, as served to justify the *Confidence* they reposed in, and the *Subserviency* they shewed to the joint A——n of *both*. Nor was this all; for, as they were to make their *Appearance* in *different* Theatres, they chose their Parts accordingly: The *younger* was most obnoxious to Clamour and Opposition, and therefore thought it most adviseable to affect *Consistency* and *Popularity*; but the *elder* was not afraid of being *inconsistent*, because his Auditory was too *polite* to *expose* him; and because he hoped to succeed to the *Favour* which his Predecessor in the C——b——t had enjoyed, by affecting to adopt his Politicks.

At

At the same Time also, as it had been thought proper in the Year 1746. (when the Bias of the *Coalition* was still understood to be towards Peace) to pass the *younger* upon the Publick for the Chief M——r, and as such to give him the Credit of bestowing the Seals on the E—— of C——, who had been ever numbred among the Advocates for the pacifick System; so now, in order to thicken and diversify the Plot, and establish a Belief that our Measures had taken a new Turn, and that a vigorous Prosecution of the War was the only Object in View, the *elder* was said to be predominant; and, as a Proof of his Supremacy, the S——s, which L—— C—— had *resigned*, were transferred to his G—— of —— who had performed such Exploits at the Head of the A—— B——d, and who was now intent on nothing but Victory, Conquest, Triumph and Glory.

But how well soever this Interlude was played, or what Success soever they expected from it, the great Scope of their Performance was to make *sure* of seven Millions more, and then to lay aside their *Mask*, and *drop the Curtain*: Their Rivals were, by this Time, no more considered at C——t than amongst the People: By a notable Exertion of their Power, they had, more cunningly than fairly, dissolved that P——t, which had worn so many various Complexions, and which had concurred in such various Measures and Operations: A new one had been happily chosen, in which a great many of those who had seen the whole Course of these Transactions, and who had been known Advocates for the War, were not *admitted* to sit: New Men were under no Obligation to countenance a Measure they had not been concerned in; nor were even supposed to know what had been said or done, exceptionably, inconsistently, or factiously, *before* their
Time.

Time. Such a P——t might, therefore, take any new *Direction*, without being exposed to any *Censure* without Doors, or creating any *Ferment* within: And as to the *Conqueror* of *Cape-Breton*, he become a *Peace-Officer*; his Friend not only to be his *Successor*, but to have the principal Share of the Merit and Glory of the *Negotiation*; and, to initiate him yet farther into the Mystery of Treaty-Making, the Convention of this Year was intrusted to his Management in the same Manner as the last.

I have already insinuated, That, tho' the Officers of *France* and *Spain* had been rejected, Peace had been resolved upon; and I have shewn that the proper Measures had been taken to render all Opposition ineffectual: But, notwithstanding this was the *secret Purpose*, all *Appearances* were against it. By this new Convention our Armies were to consist of such incredible Numbers, that I scarce can venture to specify them, for Fear of being suspected of wilful Misrepresentation: But, whether I am believed or not, it is fit to be known, that, according to the Treaty, the allied Army in *Flanders*, for the Year 1748. was to consist of One hundred and ninety two thousand effective Men; viz. 60,000 *Austrians*, 66,000 *Dutch*, and 66,000 in the Pay of *Great-Britain*: That Garrisons were not to be comprehended in this Calculation: And that, in the like Manner, exclusive of Garrisons, the Force to be employed in *Italy* was to consist of 60,000 *Austrians*, and 30,000 *Piedmontese*: The latter to be in the Field the 1st of *May*, and the former by the 1st of *March*, with an Exception to 10,000 *Austrians* who were to come up in *April*, and the 30,000 *Russians* who were to come up as soon as they could, tho' no Partisans of the two B——rs would then suffer it to be doubted that even the *Russians* would be in the Field by that Time. But

But how confident soever they were in their Assertions, the most intelligent M—b—rs, who had attended to all the former Propositions of the same Kind, who had observed the iniquitous Use which had been made of them, and who had remembered the Failures and Miscarriages which had been deduced from them, were neither to be satisfied nor seduced by the *Craft* of the Leaders, nor the *Credulity* of the Led: On the contrary, even on the very Face of the *Convention*, they discovered such Symptoms as served to indicate the inward Rottenness of the whole: For Instance, with regard to that *fraudulent* Clause, which provided that 100,000 *L.* should be reserved out of the Subsidies allowed to the Empress Queen, by Way of Cheque upon the Musters of her Troops, they not only discovered the Impolicy of a Proviso which had only served as a *Pretence* to excuse the very Defect it was calculated to prevent; and the Absurdity of stipulating for a Forfeiture, which, tho' always made, had never been taken; but also the real Hardship imposed on her M——y, by extending the said Proviso to her Forces in *Italy*, as well as those in the *Low-Countries*, when the latter were required to be in the Field by the 1st of *March*, and the former not till the 1st of *May*.

And, in the second Place, observing that the Payments were also settled in the same Manner as before; that is to say, 150,000 *L.* before the Ratification, 100,000 *L.* upon the Exchange of the Ratifications, and 50,000 *L.* per Month afterwards; and that the *Convention* had not been signed at the *Hague* till the 26th of *January*, they foresaw that not above 250,000 *L.* could be paid, and they had Reason to apprehend not a Shilling would be paid before this very

1st of *March*, when the Army was to take the Field. Whence, and from the other Considerations above specified, in relation to the *Time* and *Manner* of recruiting the *Austrian* Forces, it was notorious, that the necessary Levies could not be made by the stipulated Time, or indeed for some Months after, and consequently that the Subsidy itself would in a Manner be *thrown away*.

In short, when all these Circumstances are compared with what hath been already said concerning the *Russian* Affair, it will become evident, almost to Demonstration, that the *two B——rs* had levied so enormous a Sum upon the Nation, not only with a Foreknowledge that the Allies would be forced to take the Field in as *feeble a State* as they had left it at the Close of the last Campaign, but with as settled a Resolution to manage in such a Manner, as should render it *impossible* for them to do *other-ways*.

But, that they may not say I have mistaken Presumption for Demonstration, I will take upon me to shew that this Resolution of theirs became more and more manifest, after that prodigal, but fruitless, Measure had received the Sanction of P———: Or, at least, I will ask a few such Questions as may enable every Man to reason and judge for himself, *viz.*

Why was not the D——, when the *Dutch* Barrier, on the one Hand; lay so exposed to the Insults of the Enemy, and, on the other, was so ill provided for a Defence, Why was not his R—— H——, I say, prevailed upon to spend *one* Winter abroad, in order to concert the best Measures, which the present Exigence would admit of, to cover and protect it? Or, if his R—— H—— took no more Delight in the Society

Society of his *Brother* on *that* Side of the Water, than in the Society of his ——— on *this*, why was not G——l L——g——r discharged from the Obligations of his Parole, and ordered to concert those necessary Measures in his Stead? Why, on the contrary, was the Liberty of that G——l, whose signal Services had deserved such signal Acknowledgment, so little regarded, that M. Saxe had it in his Power to *redemand* him as his *Prisoner*, in that Interval when his Abilities might have been so useful to our Allies? Was his Election for the City of B——, or his Attendance on P——, of more Consequence than his Presence and Advice in the Conferences, which every Day rendered more and more necessary to prevent the Designs of the Enemy? Why, also, were so many other Officers, whose Duty required them to be at their respective Posts, and in Readiness to enter into Action at a Moment's Warning, suffered to be absent? Was it because there was *War* between the *Towns* of *Buckingham* and *Aylesbury*, as well as between the *Houses* of *Austria* and *Bourbon*? Because they had Commands in *both*? Because they could not be every where at once? And because the former was as much *more important* as the latter, as *two Towns* are of *more Importance* than *two Houses*? And, lastly, why was so little Regard shewn to *Bathiani's* Letter of the 31st of *January*, O. S. in which he urges the absolute Necessity of his R——H——'s immediate Presence and Influence at the *Hague*; declares that he can do nothing without him; that the *French* were in great Forewardness; and that, as it was of great Importance for them to take the Field soon, not a Moment was to be lost; that the great Point to be attended to was the Security of *Maastricht*, which would effectually put a
Stop

Stop to the Progress of the Enemy; that with a Body of 25,000 Men, posted upon Mount *St. Pierre*, and another of 45,000 Men on the other Side of the *Maese*, he would undertake to cover it at the Peril of his Head; and pronounces, that this could not be done unless the D—— came over in Person, and acted in concert with the P—— of O——: I say, Why was so little Regard shewn to a Letter of such infinite Moment? And, lastly, why was his R—— H——, notwithstanding, detained in *England* till the Month of *April*, a Month after the Time stipulated for the Armies to take the Field?

These are Questions that none but *Majorities* can answer, and to their Mercy I leave them.

It remains, however, to be observed, that, notwithstanding this Warning, this Proposal, this Requisition of *Bathiani*, our O——s, G——ls and M——rs, remained in as much Tranquillity as if they had no Enemy in the World to fear, nor any Campaign to provide for, but that which was to be prosecuted at *Home*. At length, however, the *French* Army was put in Motion; and, as if it was an Event which could neither have been *foreseen* or *imagined*, or as if they had lien till then *incog* at some such Place as *Knightsbridge*, on our Side all seemed to be Surprise and Confusion: Numbers of Men were immediately employed in repairing the Works of *Maestricht*: The scattered Troops of the Allies were ordered to assemble, as fast as possible, and as well as they could: And every other Measure was taken which could help to *expose* that *Weakness* which we had *predetermined* not to *remedy*.

As in a Play, when every Scene, and every Incident serves to unravel the Plot, and hasten the Catastrophe,

taſtrophe, ſo every Event now ſerved to unfold and accompliſh the great Purpoſe of ruining the War.

The *Auſtrians*, tho' not only unrecruited, but ſtill *unſupplied* with the Money neceſſary for the raiſing them, tho' quartered as far up the Country as *Cologne* and the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, and Part of them in a Manner cut off from the Place of Rendezvous, by the Interpoſition of the Enemy, nevertheless, were the firſt that took the Field in any conſiderable Body, which was owing to the indefatigable Endeavours of *Bathiani*: And, if *Chanclos*, contrary to the Treaty ſubſiſting with his Miſtreſs the Empreſs-Queen, and without waiting farther Orders, had not gallantly riſqued her Favour, and perhaps his Head, by throwing twelve Battalions into *Maeftricht*, that Town, ſo long threatned, ſo well known not only to be the firſt Place deſtined to be attacked, but to be attacked as early as it was, would have been ſurpriſed without a Garriſon, and muſt have ſurrendred as ſoon as the Enemy appeared before the Gates.

I ſhould have ſpecified, that the Body of *Auſtrians*, brought into the Field by *Bathiani*, conſiſted of 31 Battalions and 60 Squadrons: And, notwithſtanding all that was given out here at home concerning the *Dutch*, and all the Variety of Diſcouragements which the P— of O—then laboured under, his H—s aſſembled a Body of 20,000 Men under the Cannon of *Breda*.

But as for us, (who Year after Year had abuſed our Allies for Deficiencies and Delays, which we ourſelves had helped to cauſe, and reſuſed to help in removing, and who had none of thoſe Excuses to alledge, which the *Auſtrians* had ſo often alledged) our *Hanoverian* Troops were not ordered out of
their

their Winter-Quarters till within a few Days before *Maestricht* was actually invested by the Enemy: And as to the 20,000 *English*, which, by express Stipulation, ought to have been in the Field by the first of *March*, they were deficient to the Amount of 7000; and the four Battalions and 3000 Recruits, appointed to render them compleat, did not actually join the allied the Army till after the 19th of *April* O. S. when the Preliminaries were signed, and the Measure of the War was compleatly ruined.

Thus, Sir, I have in *Part* discharged my own Mind, and I hope satisfied *yours*: When I am more at Leisure, I may, perhaps, take up the Pen again: And, if I do, you may expect a like *Series* of Evidence, to shew that the Nation is not more obliged to the *B——rs* for the *Conduct of the War*, than the *Conduct of the Peace*.

F I N I S,

